

OTTMAR NACHTIGALL AND HIS GERMAN PSALTER IN THE CONTEXT OF THE EARLY REFORMATION

Susan E. Harvey

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in the context of the early Reformation.**

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M. Phil.

Submitted 31.3.91



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Abstract

Ottmar Nachtigall, humanist and approximate contemporary of Erasmus and Luther, was widely travelled, learned in Greek and Latin, a priest, acquainted with many prominent thinkers and an opponent of ecclesiastical corruption. His somewhat ambivalent theological position sowed seeds of suspicion of unorthodoxy in many minds which has survived over the centuries. Yet those in ultimate authority in the Roman Catholic world held him in high regard, and this study produces no evidence that he espoused the Lutheran cause.

In Strasbourg Nachtigall was a pioneer of Greek studies in Germany. In Augsburg, where he became Fugger preacher at St. Moritz, profane studies were superseded by theological ones which culminated in the publication of German Gospel Harmonies and a German translation of the Psalter with a commentary. The introduction to his *Gantz Evangelisch histori* (1525) reveals his attitude to Bible translation and contains the undogmatic justification of his departure from tradition with his rendering of "logos" and "gratia plena". He was aware of errors in the Vulgate text but, in the case of the Psalter, his ignorance of Hebrew hampered his efforts to rectify it. Yet the conservative nature of the translation is offset by the tone of the exegetical notes in which there are no Scholastic references and where alternative renderings are suggested. The loose translation of Romans, 3,28 in the notes to Psalm 1 introduces the controversial word "allain". In Freiburg, his refuge from Reformation disturbances, he devoted himself to priestly functions and died a traditional Catholic.

Nachtigall's Psalter translation bridges the gap between the essentially medieval Latin-based precursors and Luther's Hebrew-based 1524 version. He improved the German immensely but lacked the linguistic ability necessary to give his translation the textual credibility which he believed the Vulgate version to lack.

Preface

In approximately 1865 the library of St. Andrews University acquired a copy of the *Deutsch Psalter*, printed by Johann Zainer in Ulm about 1489 and reproducing the psalm texts from the tenth High German printed Bible (Johann Grüninger, Strasbourg 1485). Hand-written notes on the front fly-leaf reveal that this Psalter originally belonged to the Engelgarten Charterhouse in Würzburg. In 1980 Dr J. Ashcroft of the German Department and Mr G. Hargreaves of the Rare Books Department were able to increase the library's holding of early vernacular German printed books by the purchase of Ottmar Nachtigall's *Psalter des kinigs un̄ propheten Davids*, published by Siegmund Grimm in Augsburg in 1524.

It seemed appropriate to compare these two German Psalters with each other and with others of somewhat earlier or roughly contemporary provenance, particularly as Nachtigall's translation is described in several reference books as one which ranks second only to Luther's renderings. The somewhat repetitious nature of the available references to Nachtigall suggested that this evaluation of his ability as a translator might simply have been handed on uncritically from author to author of biographical articles and could probably bear closer investigation. Further doubt was cast on the reliability of extant judgements by the recognition that scholarly interest in Nachtigall developed during the era of the Kulturkampf in Germany and reflected the confessional divisions and strife of the period. So the time seemed ripe for a fresh evaluation, one both free of confessional bias and based on an actual consideration of some of his texts, of Nachtigall's standing as a Bible translator and commentator and of his experience as a Roman Catholic priest at a time of religious upheaval.

Once this study of an apparently insignificant literary dilettante was underway, a picture began to emerge of a man who, despite his naturally conservative and unassuming character, made a significant contribution to contemporary literary developments and expressed theological opinions of a surprisingly radical complexion.

I would like to express my gratitude to Dr Jeffrey Ashcroft for his patient and encouraging supervision and assistance, to the staff of the Rare Books Department, and in particular Mrs Christine Gascoigne, for their efficient and cheerful fulfillment of all my requests, and to my husband and son for their endless uncomplaining unravelling of technical mysteries relating to the processing of words.

The work is dedicated to Erich and Ilse Hessing for their love, interest and inspiration over many years.

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Abbreviations

- WA *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 1-, (Weimar, 1883-).
- EE *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, edited by P. S. Allen, 12 vols (Oxford, 1906-1958).
- ON *Der Psalter des kinigs uñ propheten Davids / ain suñari und kurtzer begryff aller hayligen geschrift, durch Otmaren Nachtgallen Doctorem / von grund / auß den .lxx. und hebreischer sprach art uñ aygenschaft zû verstendigem und klarem hochteutsche gebracht ...* (Augsburg, 1524).
- M Psalter in the German Bible printed by Johann Mentel in Strasbourg, c. 1466.
- Z *Teutsch Psalter* (Johann Zainer, Ulm, c. 1489).
- PP *Liber Psalmorum nova e textibus primigeniis interpretatio latina cura professorum pontificii institui biblici edita* (Rome, Turin and Paris, 1947). Commonly called *Psalterium Pianum*.

Chapter 1

Life of Ottmar Nachtigall

Ottmar Nachtigall, musician, theologian, lawyer, humanist, pioneer of Greek studies in Germany, was born in Strasbourg between 1478 and 1480.¹ A certificate of legitimacy, provided by Nachtigall in connection with his acceptance of the preachiership at St. Moritz in Augsburg and dated 19 June 1526, names as his parents Johannes and Otilia Nachtigall, citizens of Strasbourg.² Nothing is known of his background, though the educational contact which he was to have with men of great scholarly reputation leads Gass³ to wonder whether his parents enjoyed a degree of affluence.

Nachtigall had personal contact with such figures from an early stage. Geiler von Kaisersberg was preacher at Strasbourg Cathedral from 1478 and took boys into his house as "familiares". Nachtigall was greatly influenced by him, coming to share his concern for musical standards and his persuasion of the need for a personal relationship with God. Of this teacher he later wrote:

"Ich hab inn meyner kinthayt vō Doctor Kayzersberger in seinen predigten zū Straßburg
gethon / und sonst in seynem hauß ains tayls / also vil haylsamer leer empfangē / die mir
darzū geholfen / das man mich zeycht ich sey kayn weltmensch".⁴

Nachtigall's particular respect, however, was directed towards Jakob Wimpheling. In the "Epistola noncupatoria" dedicated to Johann von Botzheim⁵ he writes:

"Ad Iacobū Vvimphelingium venio venerando canicie senem, Praeceptorum haud quaquā
poenitendum, qui ad offutias, probra, contumelias, execrationes & maledicta istorum quos
bene voluit esse moratos, propemodum veluti ad syrenaicos scrupulos consenuit".

This contact with Wimpheling was accepted by earlier biographers as having taken place in Strasbourg after 1501 when Wimpheling was a popular tutor in the homes of wealthy families of that city. But Niemöller suggests⁶ that it must have taken place earlier in Speyer where Wimpheling was Cathedral Preacher from 1484 until his return to his professorial chair in Heidelberg in 1498, by which time Nachtigall had left

¹ Ch. Schmidt, *Histoire littéraire d'Alsace*, II (Paris, 1879), chapter VII, "Ottmar Nachtigall dit Luscinius", p. 174, gives the birth date as 1487. K. Hartfelder, "Zur Gelehrten Geschichte Heidelbergs am Ende des Mittelalters", *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 5 (1891), p. 168, points out, however, that it is improbable that Ottmar was born in 1487 as his name appears in the matriculation list for Heidelberg for 1494.

² A. Schröder, "Beiträge zum Lebensbilde Dr. O. Nachtigalls", *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 14 (1893), p. 87.

³ J. Gass, "Ottmar Luscinius", *Revue catholique d'Alsace*, 51 (1936), p. 2.

⁴ *Die ganz Evangelisch histori wie sie durch die vier Evangelisten / jeden sonderlich / in kriechischer sprach beschribē / in ain gleychhellige unzertaylte red ordenlich verfaßt / sambt ainer erleuchtung der schweren örter / uñ gñtem bericht wa alle ding hindienēd / Durch Othmaren Nachtgall Doct.* (Augsburg, 1525).

⁵ "Epistola noncupatoria", *Progymnasmatia Graecae literaturae ab Ottomaro Luscinio...* (Strasbourg, 1521).

⁶ K. W. Niemöller, "Ottmar Luscinius, Musiker und Humanist", *Archiv für die Musikwissenschaft*, 15 (1958), p. 43.

Heidelberg. Niemöller likewise places the occasion when Nachtigall made the personal acquaintance of Reuchlin in the house of another of Wimpfeling's pupils, Jodocus Gallus, previously set in the year 1514, in the period before his matriculation. Gallus was in Speyer before 1492 but in that year he went to Heidelberg.⁷

On 12 July 1496, Nachtigall qualified in Heidelberg for the degree of Bachelor of Arts.⁸ Thereafter he embarked on a lengthy period of travel and study. In the "Epistola noncupatoria" (1521) he lists the universities he attended after Heidelberg as Paris, Louvain, Padua and Vienna. Gass regards this as a particularly lengthy period of study, even in the terms of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.⁹

Precise dates for Ottmar Nachtigall's residence in the various centres of learning are not available.¹⁰ However, he appears in the list of Rhenish students at the University of Vienna for the winter semester of 1505.¹¹ Here he concerned himself with music, gave lectures himself and was known as a capable organist and flautist. Whether Nachtigall was really in Paris in 1508, as Schmidt claimed, is doubtful. A letter of 10 June 1515 from Nachtigall to Veit Bild, Benedictine scholar at St. Ulrich's, indicates that he was in Paris between 1511 and 1514, studying theology, Greek and Latin.¹² Here, according to Schmidt, was born his enthusiasm for ancient literature and his profound distaste for scholastic philosophy.¹³ From Vienna Nachtigall, an enthusiastic traveller, visited Hungary, Transylvania, Greece, where he stopped to copy some theological treatises, and Turkey, even reaching as far as Asia Minor.¹⁴ No description of his travels remains though he refers fleetingly to them in his "Epistola noncupatoria" as follows:

"Proinde liceat mihi; bona venia non ex veterū annalibus, sed ex nostro hoc seculo exempla petere. Posteaq̄ excessi ex ephoebis ab hinc annos ferme vīginti incredibile me extimulavit uisendarū regionum, & gentis cuiusq̄; morum indagandorum, studiū. Lustravi totam ferme Europam, & bonam Asiae partem peragravi, ...".

Niemöller suggests, though there is no evidence, that Nachtigall's period of study at Louvain University probably fell in these years.¹⁵

⁷ Niemöller, see note 5.

⁸ Hartfelder, p. 168. M. Usher Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform* (Newhaven and London, 1967), p. 48, is mistaken in her claim that Ottmar received all his university training outside Germany.

⁹ Gass, p. 3.

¹⁰ Fleeting references to the universities at which he studied are supplied by Nachtigall: "Nimius fuero si pergam commemorare illorū comitatem, quos mihi familiariſime iūxit Lutetia, Luvanium, Pataviam, & Vienna pannonine olim quod PIUS II. pontifex scripsit, barbara, nunc vero celeberrimi cuiusq̄; gymnasii aut propior aemula, aut dignu certe omniūugae eruditōis exēplar", "Epistola noncupatoria", 1521.

¹¹ Niemöller, p. 45.

¹² Niemöller, p. 48, n. 7.

¹³ Schmidt, p. 175.

¹⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁵ Niemöller, p. 44.

By 1510 Nachtigall was back in Germany. In that year, the one in which the Reichstag was held in Augsburg, he stayed in the city in the house of Conrad Peutinger. He was esteemed there as an excellent Greek scholar. On leaving Augsburg in 1511 he visited in Constance Johann von Botzheim, a compatriot who had been a fellow-pupil of Wimpheling and had become Canon of the town the previous year.

In 1514, after the three year residence in Paris, he was back in Strasbourg and it was over the next eight years spent there that he produced more than half of his written works and the few preserved musical compositions. In this period he wrote a work of Canon Law, *Summa Rosellae* (1516), and corrected works by Wimpheling, as well as writing works of no great significance on behalf of the latter against the opponents of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and against the accumulation of benefices.¹⁶ When Erasmus passed through Strasbourg in 1514 and the Literary Society fêted him, Nachtigall entertained him, either on the flute or the organ.¹⁷ As a member of this society Nachtigall inaugurated Greek studies in Strasbourg and enthused his fellow members. In 1516 and 1517 he also taught at the Cathedral School. To this Strasbourg period belongs the greater part of those of his publications, basic Greek grammars and Latin translations of Greek texts, which were essentially only teaching aids but which contributed so much to the growth of interest in and knowledge of the Greek language and literature in Strasbourg and Germany as a whole. At the request of Balthasar Gerhard, Commander of the Knights of St. John zum Grünen Wörth, Nachtigall gave the members of that house a course in Latin literature, Wimpheling having declined to do so. A letter dated 1515 and headed "ex viridario S. Johannis" indicates that Nachtigall lodged with this community.¹⁸

On 1 November 1515 Ottmar Nachtigall became official organist at the newly overhauled organ of the church of St. Thomas and the recipient of the benefice of the altar to St. Peter. The Pope did not ratify this arrangement until 1520, the year of Nachtigall's removal from the post. On 8 August 1517, Nachtigall requested permission of the Chapter of St. Thomas to attend a university in Italy to complete his academic qualifications. The first application having been refused, a second application was made and finally granted on 30 December. He left Strasbourg after 23 February 1518, acquired a doctorate in Canon Law in either Rome or Padua and was back home by the end of May.

In the winter of 1518-1519 he visited Ambrosius Ypphofer in Klausen in the Tyrol where he was warmly received by the Bishop of Brixen and the chapter and where he taught Greek. In September 1519 he was

¹⁶ Schmidt, pp. 181, 182.

¹⁷ Schmidt, p. 177, bases his assumption that Nachtigall entertained Erasmus on the flute on a letter which Erasmus wrote to Wimpheling in which Erasmus wrote, "Necque praeteribus Othmarum, hominem citra ostentationem, ut mihi videtur, eruditum, qui nos suis toties vocem mutantibus cannis, ut vel lusciniam vincerent, adeo delectavit, ut divina quadam voluptate rapti videremur", *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, edited by P. S. Allen, 2 (1910), p. 21, lns 156-160. The general opinion, also expressed by Vogeles [Quellen und Bausteine zu einer Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters in Elsass (Strasbourg, 1911), p. 186], that Nachtigall entertained Erasmus on the flute, was refuted by Niemöller, p. 49, n. 3, who points out that "cannis" is a plural form and must refer to the organ.

¹⁸ Niemöller, p. 51.

in Rome to press his claim--unsuccessfully--to a vacant benefice but was back home by 20 November, a disappointed and wiser man. His application for a canonical post, and the income which went with it, had been thwarted by the machinations of a "courtesan".¹⁹ G. von Pölnitz regards the visit to Rome as having been made to establish Nachtigall's rights to the post which he already held in Strasbourg but which he was to lose so soon.²⁰ These experiences contributed to the bitterness he felt about the "Wissenschaftsfeindlichkeit" and corruption abounding in certain clerical circles, a bitterness expressed in the "Epistola noncupatoria".²¹ Within a few months of his visit to Rome he had lost his post as organist. The few available documents indicate that the Chapter decided two months before the delayed Papal confirmation to discontinue the link between the post of organist and priest and a successor was appointed on 20 June 1520.²² He was eventually provided with a prebend at St. Stephen's but he was not able to take up his duties there because, as Nachtigall makes clear in a letter written on 7 April 1523 in Augsburg, objectors intervened.²³

Until this period Nachtigall had published nothing purely theological, but in 1519 was published his edition of a commentary on Paul's epistles, a work in those days attributed to Bishop Haimo of Halberstadt but later found to be the work of Remigius of Auxerre. The dedication to his friend, Sixt Hermann, is significant in that it indicates that he placed the study of Scripture and the older authorities above scholastic refinement.²⁴ During the time when he was unable to function as a priest he continued to apply himself to his literary activities. His scholarly reputation was great. Erasmus esteemed Nachtigall for his knowledge of ancient languages as well as regarding him as one of the ablest defenders of Wimpfeling against the monks, and in the anonymous *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* also Luscinius's praises were sung.²⁵ Though, as Schmidt points out,²⁶ the reprint of Aulus Gellius with a summary addressed to Ulrich von Hutten, an improved edition of Nachtigall's Greek grammar containing the "Epistola noncupatoria" to Johann von Botzheim (both 1521), and *Grunnius sophista* (1522) all appeared in the middle of the ferment caused in Germany by Luther's writings, they do not form a vehicle for debate on those burning issues of the day.

In 1522 Nachtigall moved to Augsburg, where he lodged initially with the Benedictines of St. Ulrich and St. Afra, though he did not become a member of that order. Leonhard Würffling, abbot of St. Ulrich,

¹⁹ This usage of the word commonly referred in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to a member of the papal Curia. (*Oxford English Dictionary*.)

²⁰ G. von Pölnitz, *Jakob Fugger. Kaiser, Kirche und Kapital in der oberdeutschen Renaissance* (Tübingen, 1949), p. 590.

²¹ "...Iacobus Sturmius ...voluit aliquando in ecclesiasticorum haberi numero, sed cū videret nulli aliter quā per sordes potere adiri, subito mutavit sententiam, ceterū cum utroq; melius quam cum Ottomaro tuo agitur, quod illis permissum est perpetuo, et ordine carere & sacerdotio, nobis non item".

²² Schmidt, p. 187.

²³ Niemöller, p. 53, n. 1.

²⁴ Schmidt, p. 184-5.

²⁵ "Alius Ottomarus Luscinius qui etiam scit graecum sicut Reuchlin, et scit multum allegare Extra et Digestis, etiam ex Biblia, que non sunt mirabilia, quia studuit in Parrhisia", letter no. 63 from Ioannes Schwinfordia, 2nd edition of vol. II, 1517, in *Epistolarum obscurorum virorum*: the Latin text with an English rendering, notes, and an historical introduction by Francis Griffin Stokes (London, 1909), p. 266, lns 87-91.

²⁶ Schmidt, pp. 187-188.

charged him with providing his monks with a course in classical languages, and at the request of Johann Schrot, Würffling's successor, he lectured on the psalms according to the Septuagint. At the same time Johann Cholérus, provost of the Choir in Augsburg and a friend of Erasmus, asked him for help with his study of Greek. They began by reading profane authors and then went on to the Psalter. For his lectures on the psalms at St. Ulrich Nachtigall referred to the old authorities but, discovering a wide divergence of interpretation, he found it necessary to draw his own conclusions and to explain Scripture in the light of Scripture, "collatione sacrae scripturae".²⁷ Here Nachtigall is applying the humanist principle of "back to the sources", a theory which had also seized the reformers, to his study of the Psalter and it was, no doubt, this preoccupation which led to the publication in Augsburg shortly afterwards of his theological works.

Having no other source of income, Nachtigall was obliged to earn his living by writing. His Greek works clearly did not find a wide readership, but in January 1524 appeared *Joci ac sales*, a collection of two hundred and thirty three anecdotes aimed at a wider public, though presumably still at scholars. Intended to appeal to a wider public were no doubt also two works which were the fruit of a visit made early in his stay in Augsburg to Styria where he met the Viennese canon, Georg Collimitius. One was a treatise by Collimitius and one a translation into German by Nachtigall of that by the Bishop of Fossombrone, both designed to reassure the populace regarding the Deluge, then widely expected in 1524.

After his departure from Strasbourg the literary Nachtigall seems to have given way to a large extent to the theologian. Yet he was unable, in a city torn by developing religious factions, to find an adequate substitute for his earlier preoccupation with classical literature. He lacked the tranquillity in which to devote himself to his studies. The spirit of the times demanded stance-taking. In November 1523 Nachtigall published a Latin version of fragments of a Gospel harmony then attributed to Ammonius of Alexandria.²⁸ In 1524²⁹ and 1525³⁰ two German Gospel Harmonies followed. At the same time, 1524, a Latin Psalter was published.³¹ Other works came out as complements to the Latin Psalter and almost contemporaneously. First came *Allegoriae psalmorum*, an alphabetical list of the metaphors and other figurative expressions in the psalms; next came *Plectra et scrupi*, the themes of the psalms (plectra) and the explanations of the obscure or badly translated passages in the Vulgate version (scrupi).

²⁷ Schmidt, p. 197.

²⁸ *Evangelicae Historiae ex quatuor evangelistis perpetuo tenore continuata narratio, ex Ammonij Alexandrini fragmentis quibusdam, e graeco per Ottomarum Lusciniū versa...* (Augusta Vindelliorum, 1523).

²⁹ *Die evangelische Hystori... von Ammonio Alexandrino Kriechisch beschriben und durch Othmar Nachtgal doctorem zu latein und deutschem gebracht* (Augsburg, 1524).

³⁰ *Die gantz Evangelisch hystori wie sie durch die vier Evangelisten / yeden sonderlich / in krieichscher sprach beschribē / in ain gleychhellige unzertaylte red ordenlich verfaßt / sambt ainer erleuchtung der schweren örter / wñ gñtem bericht wa alle ding hindienēd / Durch Othmaren Nachtgall Doct.* (Augsburg, 1525). Schröder noted, p. 83, that Schmidt's bibliography lists only one German Gospel Harmony by Nachtigall and concludes that Schmidt took the 1525 version for a new edition of the 1524 translation.

³¹ *Psalterium Davidis regis et prophetarum, ea qua potuit fieri cura & diligentia ē Graeco & Hebraicis dialectis, ab Ottomaro Lusciniō Argentino latinitati redditum* (Siegmond Grimm, Augsburg, 1524).

A German translation of the Psalter, described as "eine der besten Übertragungen neben Luther",³² also appeared, accompanied by explanatory notes, in August 1524.³³ Quotations from the Fathers or the Scholastics are replaced by parallel passages from the Old and New Testaments. However, controversy is avoided to the extent that Schmidt is able to claim that, "Comme elle semble ignorer les controverses, elle pouvait être lue aussi bien par les luthériens que par les catholiques."³⁴ A few weeks before his works on the Psalter were published Nachtigall was nominated, on 30 June 1524, to the Fugger preachership at St. Moritz. He also became a member of the Chapter of St. Moritz in 1525. No doubt he imagined that he was about to exchange his financially insecure but, nevertheless, peaceful life in the Benedictine monastery of St. Ulrich for a more secure and independent existence.

The time at which this office in a church in a sensitive position in the centre of Augsburg was entrusted to Ottmar Nachtigall was not an encouraging one for adherents to the old faith. There was ill feeling between the Bishop and the Council and anti-clericalism was in the air. The Council had found it politically expedient in 1520 to forbid the printing of inflammatory material by publishers, and the Bishop had proscribed the reading of Luther's works by the clergy. Despite attempts at containment, the unrest continued. The papal preacher at the cathedral, Mathias Kretz, did not dare to mount his pulpit from June to August 1525, and by 1527 the town was effectively, but temporarily, Zwinglian. The remaining three clerics of the old faith, Johann Faber, Kretz and Ottmar Nachtigall, laid the blame for the disturbances at the door of the evangelical preachers.³⁵ The controversy in Augsburg seems not to have taken a literary turn, but there were reports of violent personal encounters, in which the preachers were not innocent. Roth reports that:

"Auch Rhegius geriet einst auf dem Weinmarkt mit Eck, Nachtigall und Kretz in heftigen Disput wegen einiger zwischen ihnen strittiger religiöser Fragen".³⁶

With the support of Archduke Ferdinand of Austria Nachtigall had applied for the first available chair of theology or church law at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau. He was eventually, in 1526, offered nothing more definite than the prospect of employment if a vacancy should occur and seemed destined to remain in Augsburg. In May of that year he was sent to Switzerland as a representative of Bishop Hugo of Constance at the Colloquy of Baden. Despite the official nature of his planned absence, his Chapter wanted to obey the precise letter of its statute and to suspend Nachtigall's salary for that year, and it was not until

³² Hans Rupprich, *Die deutsche Literatur vom späten Mittelalter bis zum Barock: Das ausgehende Mittelalter, Humanismus und Renaissance (1370-1520)*, deBoor, H., and Newald, R: *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, 4, 1 (Munich, 1970), p. 506.

³³ *Der Psalter des kinigs uñ propheten Davids / ain suñari und kurtzer begryff aller hayligen geschrift, durch Otmaren Nachtigallen Doctorem / von grund / auß den .lxx. und hebreischer sprach art uñ aygenschaft zñ verstendigem und klarem hochteutsche gebrach / der geleychen vor nye gesehen / sambt ayns yeden psalmen kurtzen inhalt uñ begriff / mit erklerung der schwerern brter / und puncten wie man die verstñ sol. Uñ wie sie den menschen zñ ainem christenlichen lebē weysen / got zñ lob uñ eer* (Siegmond Grimm, Augsburg, 1524).

³⁴ Schmidt, p. 198.

³⁵ Friedrich Roth, *Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte 1517-1530*, second edition (Munich, 1901), p. 174. It should be noted that Roth depicts Ottmar as far less vehement in his opposition than Faber and Kretz.

³⁶ Roth, p. 311, n. 100.

a successful appeal had been made to Pope Clement VII that he was free to set out without fear of recrimination.³⁷ On 8 June Nachtigall signed Eck's theses in defence of certain Papal beliefs but he seems to have taken no further active part in the colloquy. A comment made in 1526 by Zwingli to Gynoräus is worthy of note:

"Quum disputatio Baden est habita, in qua tam nobiles fuerunt doctores, ut etiam Luscinius nomen habere nonnulli sint digni".³⁸

Back in Augsburg, he was accused before the Council on 19 July 1526, of having said during a sermon:

"Thue man nicht darzu, so werden wir einander selbst zu tot schlagen und ich habe mein Messerlein an mich gehenkt".³⁹

In the summer of 1527 Nachtigall had asked his patrons for permission to leave Augsburg, but to no avail. The Masters of the Fabric of Freiburg Cathedral had tried to persuade the university as patron to contribute the necessary sum to enable them to secure him as preacher, but the suggestion that Nachtigall might also be a suitable candidate for a professorship seems to have offended the university which declined to help. In 1528 the difficulties were overcome by the uniting of two benefices and on 4 July Nachtigall accepted the post of preacher at the cathedral in Freiburg, undertaking to move to Freiburg at the first possible opportunity.⁴⁰ He was not offered the desired professorship. At the end of August the imperial chancellor, Balthasar Merklin, asked him to remain in Augsburg and to continue to preach at St. Moritz "zu Trost und Aufenthaltung der frommen alten Christen",⁴¹ offering him 100fl. a year. Nachtigall consented to the arrangement and King Ferdinand sent a letter ordering the Freiburg council to withdraw their invitation on the grounds that he could not be spared from his duties in Augsburg.⁴² It was, however, at this very time, in September 1528, that Nachtigall was cited before the Council.⁴³ He was warned, though no reason was given, to preach nothing disruptive, and he was banned from the Reichsstrasse. This was effectively house arrest. His request for a few days to arrange his affairs was not granted and his suggestion that he should be tried before the Bishop of Augsburg or the Emperor was, not surprisingly, not acted upon. In a sermon delivered on 8 September⁴⁴ Nachtigall lumped Lutherans and Anabaptists together as heretics and, despite his protestations that he was not being seditious, that he was merely confirming the Catholics in their faith, that he was complying with the Edict of Worms, and that he had confused Lutherans with Anabaptists, he again incurred the wrath of the Council. The Emperor's representatives, speaking on his behalf, declared him to have been simply speaking as ordered and said that he was ready to leave for Freiburg. He was forbidden on 15 September to preach but was once more allowed access to the Reichsstrasse. The events

³⁷ Schröder, p. 87.

³⁸ Döllinger, *Reformation*, I (Regensburg, 1851), p. 604, n. 73, draws attention to this reference in *Zwingli Epp.* p. 535.

³⁹ Schröder, p. 100, n. 3 Dreizehner Ratsprotok. z. 19. Juli 1526, Stadtarchiv. (The Council of Thirteen is referred to here.)

⁴⁰ Josef Rest, "Neues über Ottmar Nachtigall", *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 38 (1923), pp. 53-54, Beilage Nr. 1.

⁴¹ Roth, p. 307.

⁴² Rest, p. 54-55, Beilage Nr. 2.

⁴³ Schröder, pp. 100-103, describes these events in most detail.

⁴⁴ Roth, pp. 307-308. Roth considers this episode to have happened on 6 September and the events of 8 September to have been a conscious repetition, intended by Ottmar to bring matters to a head.

of these few weeks in 1528 have been the subject of debate among the biographers as they have tried to understand what light they cast on Ottmar Nachtigall's character and religious convictions.⁴⁵

On 23 September 1528 Raimund und Hieronymus Fugger undertook to pay their protégé 80fl. a year in two instalments and he also found himself finally released from the duties which had become a trial to him. He was able to leave Augsburg for Freiburg at the end of September 1528.⁴⁶ In a letter written to Anton Fugger on 20 December⁴⁷ Nachtigall refers to the low mental state which he had suffered in Augsburg and the fact that he is able to devote himself to intellectual matters in Freiburg. In the dedication of the *Seria jocique* (1529) he describes Freiburg as a free town in which he hopes to be able to speak openly on religious matters. He also complains, referring without names to opponents in Augsburg, about those who invoke the name of the Lord but fail to do his commandments.

In Freiburg Nachtigall was provided with accommodation in a house on the first floor of which Erasmus took up residence on his arrival in 1529 from reform-ridden Basel.⁴⁸ Nachtigall was a professed admirer of Erasmus and the esteem seems to have been mutual. In a letter to Anton Fugger referred to by Schmidt as dated 14 July 1529 Erasmus refers to Nachtigall in very friendly terms⁴⁹ and wrote of him to another friend,

"Est Othomarus Luscinius, huius urbis primarius ecclesiastes, nec a linguis ac musis alienus, in hoc mei fati, quod ut ille Augusto, ita ego Basilea profugi, ne videremos quaedolent oculis".⁵⁰

Unfortunately the harmonious relationship was not to last. Disagreements arose about the use of the house. Nachtigall left first and Erasmus in 1531. Erasmus continued to complain about Nachtigall to mutual friends. Nachtigall, however, seems to have harboured no rancour because, in a letter written to Erasmus in 1531 prior to an unrecorded penitential pilgrimage to Marseilles, he offered to carry out any commissions for Erasmus en route, requested Erasmus to recommend him to his friends and made conciliatory arrangements concerning the house.⁵¹ Erasmus apparently continued to complain about Nachtigall despite their reconciliation and to give credence to rumours about him.⁵² The Freiburg accommodation episode does not show Erasmus, the great scholar, in a favourable light.

⁴⁵ This matter is discussed in Chapter 6.

⁴⁶ Pölnitz, p. 591, is alone in his claim that Ottmar returned in 1528 to his native Strasbourg.

⁴⁷ Rest, p. 56, Beilage 3..

⁴⁸ EE, IX, p. 200-201.

⁴⁹ EE, VIII, no. 2192, p. 223, ln. 25. I have found no letter to Anton Fugger dated 14 July 1529 but Luscinius is referred to in this letter to Fugger dated 7 July 1529. In a letter addressed by Erasmus to Joh. Choler on the 14 July 1529 Nachtigall is similarly referred to as "Luscinius noster", EE, VIII, no. 2195, p. 230, ln. 40.

⁵⁰ Schmidt, n. 98.

⁵¹ EE, IX, no. 2477, 4 April 1531. Schmidt, pp. 203-204, describes the events.

⁵² EE, IX, no. 2565, 7 November 1531, p. 370, lns 34-39.

ibid., X, no. 2728, 5 October 1532, p. 116, lns 41-49.

In 1532 a series of events took place which reflected those which had occurred before Nachtigall left Augsburg. In the spring of that year Count Palatine Wilhelm of Bavaria invited him to go as dean to the Liebfrauenkirche in Munich. The Freiburg Council, however, protested by letter that he could not be spared, it being difficult in those days to find good preachers of the old faith.⁵³ Nachtigall declined the invitation. He had also declined an invitation to Mainz the previous year with the comment that he hated the idea of indolence and needed a sphere where he could be intellectually active.⁵⁴ He did, however, visit his friend, Nausea, in Mainz in 1532.⁵⁵

Nachtigall's literary activity decreased as the years passed. It had been assumed by earlier biographers⁵⁶ that in Freiburg he reverted to a favourite study of his youth, musical theory. He had freely translated Virdung's work on musical instruments in the form of a dialogue and presented it as the first part of the work entitled *Musurgia seu praxis musicae* which was published in Strasbourg in 1536. Niemöller, however, indicates that, despite the dating of the foreword as 1536, the work does not originate from this period and that Nachtigall's creative literary period therefore finished in 1529.⁵⁷ His creative ability could not keep pace with the times. The collections of sentences and satirical anecdotes, so popular in the first two decades of the sixteenth century and exemplified by Brant's *Narrenschiff* and Murner's *Narrenbeschwörung* lost their powers of attraction in the face of the violent theological controversies and social upheavals of later years. Literary works were replaced for a short period in Augsburg by theological works, but his inspiration seems to have been largely exhausted thereafter.

In a letter dated between October 1532 and March 1533 Nachtigall complains to the Freiburg Council about his duty to preach a daily sermon at a very early hour during Lent, in the dark and to a small and largely unwilling congregation. He laments the lack of sleep and the difficulty in finding a fresh theme every day, all for nothing, and suggests that, though the arrangements should remain unaltered that year, the sermon could be preached at a later hour in future years in the hope that more people would attend. The tone of the letter is very tactful and reasonable.⁵⁸

From 1531 Nachtigall was a permanent guest at the Carthusian monastery. At the end of his life he requested incorporation into the prayer fraternity of the order⁵⁹, but the granting of his request did not arrive until after his death. In 1531 he made the order the main beneficiary and executor of his will.⁶⁰ His death occurred early in September 1537⁶¹ and he was buried, according to his wish, in the cemetery of the

⁵³ Rest, p. 56, Beilage 5.

⁵⁴ Niemöller, p. 57, n. 6. "Id solum curae est, ut sit exercend ingenii locus. Vehementer enim execror otium."

⁵⁵ Gass, p. 11.

⁵⁶ Schmidt, p. 205.

⁵⁷ Niemöller, p. 57.

⁵⁸ Rest, p. 56, Beilage 4. In the text (p. 50) Rest dates this letter 1531.

⁵⁹ Ottmar did not request admission into the order itself, as Schmidt suggested, p. 206, but into the prayer fraternity.

⁶⁰ Rest, p. 58, Beilage 6.

⁶¹ Rest, p. 53, gives 5 September as the date of his death. Gass gives 7 September.

monastery on the Johannisberg just outside the gates of Freiburg. Nearby, in the chapel, was the window depicting St. Otmar, which he had commissioned.⁶²

Thus Otmar Nachtigall, Greek and Latin scholar and early proponent of the critical approach to Bible translation in Germany, died and was buried in a manner fully in keeping with the Catholic tradition. This combination of a search for intellectual freedom with a continued adherence to the Universal Church of Rome shows him cast in a thoroughly traditional mould and in no way untypical of the age.

⁶² Rest, p. 53.

Chapter 2

Ottmar Nachtigall's position in the intellectual milieu of the early sixteenth century

As a humanist of repute among his contemporaries and a priest and professional organist, Ottmar Nachtigall was, chronologically and geographically, potentially well situated to enjoy the acquaintanceship of thinkers of his day. His career as student, teacher, writer, translator and priest spanned approximately the final decade of the fifteenth century and the first three decades of the sixteenth century, a period which witnessed the upsurge of humanism and the decline of scholasticism, a growth in the long established demand for ecclesiastical reform from within the Church and the development of a new evangelical movement outside its confines, and an upheaval in the political relationship between pope and emperor. Nachtigall took no part in the political upheavals. As a humanist he played an important initiating role in the introduction and development of Greek studies into Germany, a process which necessarily led to criticism of the received version of the Bible and, in the longer term, to the questioning of fundamental tenets of the Church based on that text. In the ecclesiastical sphere Ottmar Nachtigall, like so many of his contemporaries, opposed abuse of the traditional system. At this time of great intellectual upheaval the older generation of humanists, as represented by many of Nachtigall's teachers, sought intellectual freedom alone while the younger generation, including such men as Melancthon, were led by their philological pursuits to demand spiritual freedom too. Suspended between the generations, in the vanguard of a new liberal attitude to Greek studies, Ottmar Nachtigall was perhaps tempted to allow himself to be swept along by the tide of change until events in the 1520's, both personal and public, revealed his lack of personal commitment to the new order. The events which touched him personally were those hinging on his arraignment before the Augsburg City Council. The public events which could well have prompted him to reconsider his position with regard to reform are the Peasants' War with all its concomitant violence and the public break between Erasmus and Luther in 1525 over man's freedom of will in salvation.

Throughout his life Nachtigall was geographically well situated to come into contact with many of the leading thinkers of his day. Indeed he seemed fated to find himself for a large part of his life in centres of religious ferment. During his lengthy years of study he attended the universities of Heidelberg, Paris, Louvain, Padua and Vienna where he was influenced by many notable scholars, and his mental horizons were widened by journeys to Hungary, Transylvania, Greece, Turkey and even Asia Minor.⁶³ A firsthand experience of Rome in 1519 served to disillusion him about clerical attitudes to scholarship and strengthened his opposition to abuses within the Church.⁶⁴ The largest part of his working life was spent in Strasbourg and Augsburg.

⁶³ "Epistola noncupatoria".

⁶⁴ Schmidt, pp. 186-7. "Epistola noncupatoria".

Over the geographical and historical circumstances of his life Nachtigall could perhaps have limited influence. Over the choice of friends and correspondents in his adult life he presumably could exercise some control and he will be seen to have had a personal relationship with a surprising number of well known humanist scholars, some of whom were prominent supporters of Luther.

These contacts with distinguished scholars reach back into Nachtigall's childhood when he was taught by the most famous preacher of his time, Johann Geiler von Kaisersberg (1445-1510)⁶⁵, from 1478 to 1510 "die Posaune des Straßburger Münsters" who emphasised the necessity for a personal relationship with God and a return to Gospel teachings and spoke out against ecclesiastical corruption. During the period of his youth which he spent in Speyer before his matriculation at Heidelberg, Nachtigall came under the influence of the cathedral preacher of that town, Jakob Wimpheling (1450-1528), a humanist of the old school and also an opponent of ecclesiastical abuse, particularly the accumulation of benefices. To this man Nachtigall directed his especial respect.⁶⁶ Also in this period in Speyer, in the home of Jodocus Gallus (c.1459-1517), another of Wimpheling's pupils who during his career was several times rector of the university of Heidelberg, Nachtigall made the acquaintance of Johannes Reuchlin (1466-1536).⁶⁷ He was clearly influenced by the great Hebraist's attitude to Bible translation and identified as ignorant Reuchlin's opponents in the controversy which engulfed Germany in the second decade of the sixteenth century.⁶⁸

In his musical development Nachtigall was influenced at the university of Vienna by Paul Hofhaimer (1459-1537), court organist to Emperor Maximilian I, and by Johann Wolfgang Grefinger (died 1515).⁶⁹ Both were enthusiastic proponents of the polyphonic Gesellschaftslied and Hofhaimer also followed the humanist trend by setting the odes of Horace to music. At the great humanist university of Paris Nachtigall studied Greek, a language new to Europe and almost unknown in Germany, under the future cardinal and Luther's opponent at Worms, Aleander de Motta, and Latin under Fausto Andrelini.⁷⁰ These linguistic studies, together with his contemporaneous theological studies, equipped Nachtigall for a closer consideration of the Bible though there is significantly no mention of Hebrew. Aleander fired his interest in Lucian; in 1515 the first work which Nachtigall was to publish as part of his pioneer work in Greek studies was a Latin translation of Lucian's *Dialogues* based on a text published by Aleander in Paris.

On a visit to Augsburg in 1510-11, during the early months of which the Reichstag was held there, Nachtigall stayed in the house of Konrad Peutinger, town clerk, humanist and antiquarian, whose wife, Margarethe, was an able Latin scholar. Their house was a meeting place for humanist scholars and through

⁶⁵ Foreword to *Die gantz Evangelisch Histori* (1525).

⁶⁶ "Epistola noncupatoria".

⁶⁷ Schmidt, p. 176.

⁶⁸ Schmidt, p. 188.

⁶⁹ Niemöller, p. 45. Niemöller considers that there is no proof that Nachtigall was actually taught by Hofhaimer.

⁷⁰ Schmidt, 185.

them he met such people as Johann Pinician, later Poet Laureate to Emperor Maximilian, and Veit Bild (1481-1529), humanist astronomer, mathematician, musician and Benedictine monk at St. Ulrich and St. Afra, through whom he also made the acquaintance of Nicolaus Ellenbog, the humanist Benedictine of Ottebeuren. A letter dated 30 November 1510 shows Nachtigall in correspondence with Ellenbog (1481-1543) who in turn corresponded with numerous scholars including Erasmus, Reuchlin, Peutinger and Eck. Judging by this letter, the esteem in which Nachtigall held the scholars with whom he was in contact was reciprocated, though he perhaps regarded his own skills modestly because he wrote,

"Graecorum literarum quondam auram coepi et inter Latinos Graecus et inter Graecos Latinus videor".⁷¹

After leaving Augsburg and presumably en route to Paris Nachtigall visited in Constance Canon Johann von Botzheim (1480-1535), a compatriot with whom he had been a pupil of Wimpheling and whose home was a meeting place for humanists. It was to Botzheim that he addressed the illuminating "Epistola noncupatoria" of 1521.

His return to his native Strasbourg in 1514 brought Nachtigall into the circle of humanists and educational reformers based on the Sodalitas litteraria. Prominent members were Sebastian Brant (1485-1521), author of *Das Narrenschiff* and the only one to know even a smattering of Greek, Jakob Wimpheling (1450-1528) who was tutoring the Strasbourg youth after the machinations of "courtesans" ⁷² had prevented his obtaining a benefice, Beatus Rhenanus (1485-1547), Jakob Sturm (1489-1553), a favourite pupil of Wimpheling who abandoned his theological studies in Freiburg and espoused the Reformation, Thomas Murner (1475-1537), Sixt Hermann, Niklaus Gerbel (died in 1560), Johann Gallinarius (1475-?), and Hieronymus Gebwiler (c. 1480-1545). In Strasbourg Nachtigall met Erasmus who was fêted by the Literary Society in September 1514 when he stopped there on a journey to Basel to see his publisher, Froben. A lasting relationship was established, based on the mutual respect of the two Greek scholars and a common opposition to clerical corruption and ignorance. Despite the less happy turn which the relationship took later in Freiburg,⁷³ it lasted until the end of both their lives. This contact with Erasmus and, at an earlier stage, with Reuchlin must have been inspirational to Nachtigall in his biblical translation work. Other significant contacts at this time included Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560), then professor at Tübingen, Johannes Sapidus (1490-1561), rector of the school at Sélestat, and the Amerbach family, printers and booksellers of Basel.⁷⁴ The conditions were being prepared for a blossoming of the Reformation in Strasbourg which Nachtigall, unlike many of his contemporaries in the town, was unable to countenance and he eventually found himself unable to function there as a priest.

⁷¹ Niemöller, p. 47.

⁷² The accumulation of benefices by favourites at ecclesiastical courts was an abuse which attracted much criticism.

⁷³ Schmidt, pp. 202-204.

⁷⁴ Schmidt, p. 182.

Ottmar Nachtigall had links with the humanist and nationalist, Ulrich von Hutten, who for a time had close connections with Luther. An edition of Aulus-Gellius, a second-century grammarian, published by Nachtigall in 1521, contained a summary addressed to Hutten in which Nachtigall's admiration for Hutten was expressed in terms of almost fulsome praise. In the "Epistola noncupatoria" of the same year Hutten's genius is again admired but his tendency to allow himself to be inflamed by the storms of the day is regretted. Nevertheless friendly overtures are advocated at this stage to arrest the flight of both Hutten and Luther. By the time of Hutten's death in 1523, only two years later, Nachtigall's attitude to him had clearly changed because Melanchthon found it necessary to compose two epigrams against Nachtigall who had apparently published or said something insulting about Hutten. By Schmidt's time no proof of the presumed insult had come to light. Am Ende in the eighteenth century simply referred to "Ein beissendes Gedicht, das ich zwar nicht gesehn habe".⁷⁵ Schmidt also notes that in the *Opera Hutteni*, T. 2, p. 364, "on trouve aussi une épitaphe de Hutten par Mutianus Rufus, dans laquelle sont nommés quelques-uns de ses adversaires, entre autres un certe Luscius; a-t-il voulu dire Luscinius?".⁷⁶

On his removal to Augsburg in 1522 Nachtigall was clearly entering yet another potentially stimulating intellectual milieu in which he already had an established circle of humanist friends as a result of his earlier visit. He lodged initially in the Benedictine monastery of St. Ulrich and St. Afra, a centre of learning, if not of monastic piety. This monastery possessed an extensive library, as did also the Fugger family and Konrad Peutinger, to all of which he presumably had access. Friends here included the Erasmian bishop of Augsburg, Christoph von Stadion, the Catholic Fugger family, Konrad Peutinger and his wife, Veit Bild and Sigmund Grimm, the medical man who in was in 1523-25 to publish the works resulting from Nachtigall's theological and philological studies of those years. Here he was called upon to provide instruction in classical languages and the psalms to the monks of St. Ulrich and to tutor Johann Cholérus, provost of the Choir of Augsburg and friend of Erasmus, in Greek, for which purpose they used first the pagan authors and then the Psalter. Some of the associates of that period thus encouraged preoccupations which led directly to Nachtigall's reappraisal of the received Latin version of the Psalter.

Augsburg was then a centre of vernacular Bible publishing. Though it was destined to be one of the main centres of Reformation activity, it did not suffer the excesses experienced by other towns, though the Roman Catholic presence was reduced in the mid-twenties to three churches and for a while from 1527 Zwinglianism held sway. The political, economic and spiritual atmosphere of the town, as the Council struggled to keep the good will of the citizens while at the same time appeasing the Emperor and their Catholic Swabian neighbours, was not one to encourage theological freedom of expression. Nevertheless, at this very time the emphasis of Nachtigall's studies shifted from the profane to the theological and he

⁷⁵ Schmidt, p. 194. His footnote 70 provides the texts of the epigrams.

⁷⁶ Schmidt, p. 194, n. 70.

engaged in linguistic consideration of the Psalter, ultimately producing new translations, in Latin⁷⁷ and in German⁷⁸ in 1524, an activity fully in keeping with the intellectual trends of the times but doubtless giving rise to suspicion regarding his orthodoxy. At the same period Nachtigall was producing at yearly intervals three Gospel harmonies in Latin and German⁷⁹. In 1524 he became the Fugger preacher at St. Moritz and it is possible that his close contact with the Fugger family, a bastion of the papal economic system, served to counterbalance any germinal revolutionary tendencies.

When he came under the scrutiny of the Council, Nachtigall was all too willing to abandon Augsburg (and, thus, his humanist friends) for the haven of Roman Catholic Freiburg im Breisgau. The second half of his residence in Augsburg and his final years in Freiburg are characterised by a withdrawal from intellectual activity, and yet it was in Freiburg, between 1529 and 1531, that he found himself living at close quarters with Erasmus, a circumstance which, for a while at least, damaged their previously harmonious relationship⁸⁰ and failed to resuscitate Nachtigall's literary activity.

Of significance is the fact that Nachtigall had no contact with Luther. In 1521 he was advocating gentle and friendly approaches to stem the Lutheran tide but he was careful to point out that lack of time (not, it would seem, lack of interest!) had prevented him from reading Luther's latest works, by which he presumably means the radical ones of 1520.⁸¹ When Luther wrote his Trostbrief to the citizens of Augsburg in September 1523 Nachtigall was resident in that town and in the midst of his critical work on the Psalter and the Gospels but he does not seem to have succumbed to any temptation to support Luther. In the previous summer he had referred but, as Schmidt points out, only fleetingly and in the course of a letter dealing with other matters,⁸² to the attacks on Papal authority as the "nocentissima horum temporum pestis".⁸³

It thus appears that Ottmar Nachtigall, far from being an insignificant priest with the interests of a literary dilettante, was in close contact from his early youth with prominent thinkers, that he was influenced by them and that he was consequently instrumental via his publications in the introduction into Germany of new ideas and interests in the closely linked fields of classical studies and, despite apparently unencouraging circumstances, theology. His intellectual milieu made him more liberal than his mentor, Wimpfeling, in his enthusiasm for pagan literature, and than many priests in his advocacy of the study of the Greek language. Yet his ambience was firmly that of his older humanist contemporaries, those who adhered to the old church while critically aware of its shortcomings.

⁷⁷ *Psalterium Davidis Regis et prophetae* (1524).

⁷⁸ *Der Psalter des kinigs wiñ propheten Davids* (1524).

⁷⁹ *Evangelicae historiae ex quatuor evangelistis perpetuo tenore continuata narratio* (1523).

Die evangelische Histori...(Augsburg, 1524).

Die gantz Evangelisch histori...(Augsburg, 1525).

⁸⁰ Schmidt, pp. 202ff.

⁸¹ "Epistola noncupatoria" (1521).

⁸² Schmidt, p. 193.

⁸³ Nachtigall's dedication to the Bishop of Brixen of his *Plutarchi Chaeronaei aliquot commentarii* (Strasbourg, 1522).

Chapter 3

Approaches to Bible translation before and at the time of Ottmar Nachtigall

Bible translation had had a long history before the sixteenth century and throughout that history two principles of translation, which have been described as the inspirational and the philological, were represented.⁸⁴ Two elements, the perceived sacrosanct nature of the very form and words of Scripture and the God-given character of its content both contributed to the development of these differing methods of rendering the texts comprehensible to those unlearned in the original languages.

The two principles are illustrated in the two traditions concerning the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek in the third century BC for the benefit of the Hellenistic Jews of the Diaspora. The philological principle is represented by the Aristean tradition which depicts seventy-two translators working in committee for seventy-two days, their finished work being then inspected and declared accurate, and therefore subject to no further alteration, by the leaders of the Jewish community. Thus the Septuagint becomes authorised.⁸⁵ The other tradition depicts the seventy-two translators individually producing seventy-two identical translations by the direct intervention of God. There can be no error. The new revealed text supersedes the old and no further translation may be attempted. In this way, too, authorisation is established.⁸⁶ A major problem with this latter principle of Bible translation arises when discrepancies are later found between the original and the new version. One solution is to lay the responsibility at the door of careless scribes, another to declare the discrepancies a part of God's intention, a new message for a new age.

As the Hebrew Pentateuch had ceased to be comprehensible to the Greek-speaking Jews of Egypt, so the Greek Bible came to mean little to the Latin-speaking early Christians. Latin translations, made for practical purposes and not claiming to usurp the pre-eminence of the Greek "original", were made and accepted. Eventually, however, there came to be so little agreement between the numerous manuscripts of the Latin Bible that a complete revision--but not a new translation--of the Latin text was commissioned from Jerome (c. 340-420) in approximately 382 by Pope Damasus. He undertook the task unwillingly, expecting to stir up opposition from those people who identified ignorance with holiness.⁸⁷ Initially Jerome advocated comparison of the Latin with the Greek version in order to eradicate errors caused by poor scribes and translators, a measure fully within his remit. But soon he came to condemn the Septuagint and to reject the theory of inspirational translation. He came to see that Hebrew and Greek had differing characteristics and

⁸⁴ W. Schwarz, *Principles and Problems of Biblical Translation* (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 15-16.

⁸⁵ Schwarz, pp. 17-21.

⁸⁶ Schwarz, pp. 21-24.

⁸⁷ F. F. Bruce, *The Books and the Parchments* (London and Glasgow, 1971), p. 204.

eventually decided that omissions from and additions to the Greek text had been made on what he regarded as political grounds, to hide from King Ptolemy II the meaning of the passages promising the coming of Christ. He saw the necessity to return to the original text revealed in Hebrew and to apply human understanding, linguistic knowledge and comparison of texts in the search for truth and accuracy. This is a truly philological approach.⁸⁸

Jerome's attitude to the technique required for Bible translation was ambivalent. Though he generally advocated the sense-for-sense approach for secular translation, he claimed in a letter of 395 or 396 to Pammachius to reserve the word-for-word method for the translation of Holy Scripture on the grounds that even the very order of the holy words is a mystery which must be preserved despite the absurdities and incomprehensibilities thus engendered.⁸⁹ Yet he frequently allowed himself great freedom in his Scriptural translation. Whatever the reasons for any discrepancies between his theory and his practice, Jerome's advocacy of word-for-word translation of Bible texts was largely accepted during the Middle Ages. Furthermore, despite the disapproval voiced by such theologians as Augustine, Jerome's Bible translation became the accepted version of the Roman Church, though it was not ratified as such until the Council of Trent in 1546. Thus it took on that very same unapproachable sanctity to which Jerome had been objecting when he translated the Scriptures.

Augustine (354-430) represents the inspirational principle of Bible translation.⁹⁰ He opposed Jerome's translation on the grounds that the Septuagint was God's inspired replacement of the Hebrew, and the divergencies between the Hebrew and the Greek he explained as alterations in the wording but not in the content. He did eventually concede to Jerome's translation a certain usefulness as long as it was not used in public worship to the confusion of the faithful and the disunity of the universal Church. Since the Septuagint was provided by God to replace the Hebrew, it follows that any "official" translation must be made from the Septuagint and not from the Hebrew which thus became redundant. It was clear to Augustine that, while a God-inspired version must be a sense-for-sense one, any version supplied for practical purposes by a translator not imbued with the Holy Spirit must necessarily render word-for-word, even at the cost of literary style. Into this insignificant category Augustine placed Jerome's Latin translation. Similar arguments re-emerge in the late Middle Ages when Reuchlin, Erasmus and Luther embark on their Bible translations.

After Jerome and on through the Middle Ages Bible translation was, with a very few exceptions which did not succeed in creating any lasting following, little more than glossing of problematical words and more or less mechanical interlinear translation from the Latin into the vernacular to aid the unlearned cleric or nun.

⁸⁸ Schwarz, pp. 26-34.

⁸⁹ Schwarz, pp. 34-35.

⁹⁰ Schwarz, pp. 37-43.

The whole period was characterised by an almost total ignorance of both the Hebrew and the Greek languages.⁹¹

The infallibility of Holy Writ was an idea which was largely accepted in the Middle Ages and which naturally had a great influence on the way in which Bible translators approached their task. It is easy to see that Jerome's declared, if not wholly genuine, reverence for the sacred significance of the very word order of Holy Writ and Augustine's pronouncement on the infallibility of the Septuagint as expressed in *De Doctrina Christiana* of 416-9 and *De Civitate Dei* of 410-28,⁹² combined with the view of the Church as the divinely instituted single authoritative interpreter of Scripture, both played very significant roles in the development of an attitude which placed the Bible on a distant pedestal and discouraged individuals from hazarding interpretations or translations of the book on which Church, society, earthly and spiritual lives were founded. Further, the development of Augustine's theory of the four-fold interpretation of Scripture encouraged the medieval church to lose sight of the literal sense and theologians to assume the role of guardians and interpreters of the text at the expense of the philologists and linguists.

Scholasticism, while wholly committed to the authority of the Bible, shifted the focus from the Bible itself to the opinions of the accepted authorities, the learned scholars. Thus tradition, in the sense of officially ratified opinions on the text and interpretation of Scripture, became all-important and the Church's position as sole source of biblical elucidation and sole point of reference in matters of textual accuracy was strengthened. To the faithful of the Middle Ages the Bible was infallible and its text was unalterable. The situation remained thus until the third great clash of the two ideals of biblical translation took place in the sixteenth century, with Reuchlin and Erasmus representing the philological approach and Luther, despite his philological ability, the inspirational.

At the end of the fifteenth century the early humanists with their call "ad fontes" inevitably drew critical attention to the Latin biblical texts and then to the Hebrew and Greek originals. They were not theologians and were in no way opposed to the idea of the Church as sole interpreter of Scripture, but they noted shortcomings in the accepted text of the Latin Bible. The humanist view was that only those able to read the original Hebrew and Greek were qualified to establish the genuine form of the text and that Schoolmen who knew only Latin could be passed over in favour of the old Fathers. Growing awareness of the discrepancies between the Latin Vulgate and the Greek and Hebrew versions damaged the reputation of the

⁹¹ Nicholas of Lyra (died 1349) was an exception to this general ignorance. The source of his knowledge remains unknown. K. Ruh, "Nikolaus von Lyra" in *Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, edited by K. Ruh et al (Berlin and New York, 1987), 6, p. 1118.

⁹² Schwarz, p. 40.

former. At this stage the adherents to the view that the Church alone was qualified to interpret Scripture took issue with the humanists and the Reuchlin affair convulsed Europe.⁹³

In the late fifteenth century Christians in western Europe were ignorant of Hebrew. Jewish glosses and translations existed but study of these works would have been tantamount to criticism of the Christian Bible. It was also widely and illogically suspected that the Jewish Bible had been falsified to obscure the christological content. The first Hebrew grammar in a European language was Conrad Pellican's *Grammatica hebraea* (1504) and in 1506 Reuchlin's dictionary and grammar, *De rudimentis hebraicis*, was published. The first Hebrew text to be printed in Germany was Reuchlin's *In septem psalmos poenitentiales hebraicos interpretatio* (1512). Reuchlin's conviction that a good translation can only be produced by someone with a sound knowledge of the original language is accompanied by the equally firm belief that any translation is inferior to the original, a view he expressed vividly in a letter of 1488 in which he wrote:

"Sua cuius libet operis lingua dulcior est et e dolio saepius derivata vina maiestate minuuntur".⁹⁴

His independence and self-confidence is evident in a letter of 1513 where we read:

"Semper ipse timens de translatis quae me saepe quondam errare fecerunt. Quare Novum Testamentum graece lego, Vetus hebraice, in cuius expositione malo confidere meo quam alterius ingenio".⁹⁵

Reuchlin drew attention to the fact that the Hebrew lack of vowels causes confusion and pointed out that errors can arise in copying. He applied scholarly methods of comparison, identifying many discrepancies between the versions. He esteemed the reliability of the Hebrew text but not necessarily the Hebrew interpretation. He believed the Hebrew text to have been inspired by God and regarded philological studies as the only legitimate method of establishing the original on which the theologians could then base their studies and on which any translations needed for enlightenment of the unlearned should be based. In Reuchlin's view, no translation is equal to the original and he habitually provided alternative renderings to his translations, a sign of a remarkably advanced method of textual study. Naturally Reuchlin's rejection of those medieval scholars who had based their studies on the Latin text offended the traditionalists who suspected him of being a supporter of Luther, and his sympathetic and liberal attitude to Jewish interpretations brought the wrath of the anti-semitic Pfefferkorn faction upon his head. Notwithstanding the fact that the Church officially supported the study of Hebrew, the Pope and the universities decided against Reuchlin but were exposed as obscurantists by his supporters in the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*. Despite his establishing of philology as a study in its own right and his success in showing that theologians can err,

⁹³ J. H. Overfield, "A New Look at the Reuchlin Affair", *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 8 (1971), regards the Reuchlin Affair as essentially concerned with anti-semitism and only secondarily as a struggle between scholasticism and humanism.

⁹⁴ *Johann Reuchlins Briefwechsel* gesammelt und herausgegeben von L. Geiger, Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 126 (Tübingen, 1875), no. 15, p. 16.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, no. 163, p. 189.

and despite his reduction of the value of the Vulgate and his praise of Jewish learning, Reuchlin adhered to the Universal Church to the end of his life.

If Reuchlin was instrumental in reducing the value of the Vulgate, except for use in Church services, with his study of Hebrew, Erasmus performed a similar function with his interest in Greek. Greek was even less accessible than Hebrew to northern Europeans. Only in Italy were Greek books printed before 1507. North of the Alps grammars were few and of doubtful quality. Despite the Church's official support of the study of both Greek and Hebrew, Greek studies were discouraged on the grounds that they might encourage the spread of heretical ideas. The resultant general ignorance of the Greek language made a comparison of the Greek and Latin texts of the Bible impossible. It was only after he had learned Greek in the course of his profane studies that Erasmus discovered the discrepancies between the texts and became aware that the ability to interpret the Bible depended on an understanding of the actual words of the original text. The divine mysteries are locked up unless a philologist provides the key. In this respect Scripture is no different from pagan literature. In 1505 Erasmus published Valla's previously unpublished *In Latinam Novi Testamenti Interpretationem ex Collatione Graecorum Exemplarium Adnotationes* in which Valla had demanded that the peculiar characteristics of every language be recognised and respected, that consistency be exercised in the choice of Latin words to represent Greek words, that while the Greek sentence structure should be imitated as much as possible in translations into Latin the rules of Latin grammar and syntax should not be violated and, finally and radically, that guidance in all linguistic questions should be sought in the pagan classical authors because they had lived earlier than the Christian authors and their language was thus purer and their authority weightier. It was Valla's view that it is no use presenting theology in words that no-one understands and as if theology has no need of grammar. All these ideas came to be propounded by Erasmus for whom grammar was the handmaid of theology - subservient but essential.⁹⁶ As a defence against the attack he expected from the traditionalists Erasmus protected himself with Jerome's words, that it is one thing to be a prophet and another to be a translator;⁹⁷ in the one case the Spirit foretells future events, in the other sentences are understood and translated by erudition and command of language. Further, Erasmus pointed out that Jerome had corrected errors and enquired why it was no longer permissible to correct errors that had slipped in since Jerome's time. Erasmus's 1516 edition of the New Testament was the first complete edition to be published in Greek.⁹⁸ His first edition included the text of the Latin Vulgate but in the second edition of 1519 this was abandoned in favour of Erasmus's own Latin translation based on the newly restored Greek text and only notes explained where Erasmus's version differed from the Vulgate. Erasmus echoed Jerome's opposition to the equating of ignorance with holiness⁹⁹ and urged a return to the Fathers and a rejection of Scholasticism. He saw in Jerome a Latin Father with

⁹⁶ Schwarz, p. 135. EE, I, no. 182, c. March 1505, lns 128-135.

⁹⁷ Jerome, "Praefatio in Pentateuchum". Schwarz, p. 33.

⁹⁸ Though Ximenes's New Testament was printed in 1514 and his Old Testament in 1517, publication was delayed until his complete Greek Bible appeared in 1522.

⁹⁹ EE, I, no. 22, June 1489, lns 18-19.

views similar to his own. Erasmus's attempts to return "ad fontes" were impeded by the widespread prejudice that the Greeks, in a similar way to the Hebrews, would have altered the text of the Bible to prove their schismatic doctrines and by the fact that the Greek Bible, no less than the Latin one, would have been corrupted by copyists' errors. Nevertheless, within the limits forced upon him by the relative lack of manuscripts available in those days, he established what he regarded as the correct text by the modern philological method of comparing many Greek and Latin texts and quotations from the Fathers. He had no absolute regard for the authority of any Bible interpreter on the grounds that humans, including Church Fathers, must by nature err and he believed that, as the style varies in different parts of the Bible and individuals vary in speech, so an acquaintance with the idioms and figurative phrases of the languages is necessary to a Bible translator as well as a knowledge of many fields of study. In an attempt to achieve a faithful and clear rendering Erasmus avoided word-for-word translation and ungrammatical constructions. If the original wording allowed of more meanings than could be rendered in the translation, the notes supplied the extra information.

Erasmus denied having torn up the Vulgate, though he left little of it uncriticised.¹⁰⁰ He claimed to have produced a version for scholars and not for the masses, and he called his differing readings annotations, not corrections.¹⁰¹ In the first edition of his Greek New Testament he insisted that the Vulgate should still be read in public places and that his new version was for private reading and study. He endorsed vernacular translations to enable everyone to understand the Bible according to his own ability.¹⁰² He looked forward to the day when the gospel and Paul's epistles would be read by women, sung by ploughmen and weavers at their work and used by travellers to help pass the hours, and to this end, of course, vernacular versions would be needed.¹⁰³ It is hardly surprising that in 1559 Pope Paul IV should place the works of this troublesome scholar on the index of proscribed books, a fate he shared with Otmar Nachtigall.

It should be noted that Erasmus's exegetical works included commentaries on Psalms 2, 3, and 4 in 1524-25, the year in which Nachtigall published his work on the Psalms, in which Luther's first edition of the Psalter was published and in which Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples published his French Psalter, and a commentary on Psalm 85 in 1528, the year in which Nachtigall moved to Freiburg and found himself sharing accommodation with Erasmus. Like Reuchlin, Erasmus sought reform of the Church from within and a return to early Christian procedures and texts. But his attack on the text of the Vulgate constituted an attack on the credibility and authority of the Church in a wider sense. Thus the antagonism between the Christian humanists and the traditionalist theologians, which had already been fuelled in the Reuchlin affair, was further exacerbated by Erasmus.

¹⁰⁰ EE, III, no. 860, 26 August 1518, lns 44-49. Schwarz, p. 158, n. 2.

¹⁰¹ Schwarz, p. 158, n. 2.

¹⁰² Schwarz, p. 159.

¹⁰³ Schwarz, pp. 157-160. EE, II, no. 373, 1515, lns 185-186.

In this atmosphere of unrest there arose a school of dissenters and reformers, of whom Luther is the foremost representative, who were prepared to leave the Roman Church in their search for reform. With Luther we return to the inspirational school of Bible translation, but in a form with a different base from that represented by Augustine 1100 years previously. In 1513-1515 Luther was still using the four-fold method of interpretation in his lecture on the psalms and, though he referred to Jerome's translation based on the Hebrew, he saw no need for a personal knowledge of that language. Luther, however, moved in humanist circles and came to value the philological foundations laid in Hebrew and Greek by such predecessors as Reuchlin and Erasmus. But most significant was his belief that the revelation which came to him concerning the Pauline teaching on the righteousness of God and justification by faith illumined his understanding of the whole Bible, and that his translation was thus inspired. He had received the key to the central significance and thus the general meaning of the Bible though not of every word and passage. The further detailed meaning could only be ascertained by means of linguistic skill illumined by God's grace in prayer. It was on the grounds that they lacked the Holy Spirit that Luther considered Jerome's and Erasmus's translations inferior to his own.¹⁰⁴ In general he preferred the version of Augustine who, though ignorant of languages, was filled with the Holy Spirit.¹⁰⁵ Similarly he objected to the Scholastics on the grounds that they relied on human intellect instead of God's grace.¹⁰⁶ Erasmus's main objection, on the other hand, was that they lacked linguistic knowledge. While Luther objected to Erasmus's work in principle, he followed it in matters of philological detail.¹⁰⁷ Humanist techniques led Luther to doubt the accuracy of the Vulgate and to pay more attention to the meaning of the words in his theological interpretations. For Erasmus theological insight was based on linguistic accuracy, but it was Luther's view that the theological significance had to be grasped before grammatical considerations could be applied to the text. Flights of spiritual fancy were reigned in by linguistic study. Luther rejected the Septuagint on humanist grounds because the translators were ignorant of ancient Hebrew and on theological grounds because as Hebrews they lacked the guidance of the Holy Spirit and insight into the christological character of the Old Testament.¹⁰⁸ Whereas earlier views of inspirational translation had insisted that the new version, complete with alterations, fully replaced what had gone before, Luther regarded his translation not as a replacement for the original but only as a guide to the understanding of its meaning. An advantage inherent in this view was that, the translation having none of the sacred character of the original, the translator could less easily be accused of heresy. Philological and inspirational strains are seen to mingle

¹⁰⁴ Luther's view of the task of the Bible translator is clearly represented in the engraving reproduced in the 1530 edition of his New Testament, printed in Wittenberg by Hans Lufft. Luther is depicted engrossed in the task of translation, the dove of the Holy Spirit hovering above him and an angel standing near him with a mirror to reflect the light of the Gospel being uncovered by Luther. This illustration bears a close resemblance with that in the 1534 edition of the complete Bible, likewise printed in Wittenberg by Lufft. In the centre of the latter St. Matthew, looking remarkably like Luther, sits writing at a desk while the dove hovers over him and an angel leans on the other side of the desk, though without a mirror. Heinz Reinitzer, *Biblia deutsch* (Wolfenbüttel and Hamburg, 1983), pp. 110, 174.

¹⁰⁵ Luther, WA, 4, *Briefe*, 1, p. 70, no. 27, 19 October 1516, lns 17-40, Luther an Spalatin.

Ibid., p. 90, no. 35, 1 March 1517, lns 15-28, Luther an Johann Lang in Erfurt.

¹⁰⁶ *Disputatio contra Scholasticam Theologiam*, 1517, in Luther, WA 1, pp. 221-228.

¹⁰⁷ Schwarz, p. 188.

¹⁰⁸ M. Luther, "Vorrede zum alten Testament", 1523, in WA *Deutsche Bibel*, 8 (Weimar, 1954), p. 18, lns 20-30.

in Luther but, as he regarded the aim of the translator to be the rendering of the inner spirit of the words, he was bound to regard the humanist grammarians as equal only to the task of assisting the theologians in their search for the true meaning of Scripture.

For the benefit of the laity vernacular translations were seen to be necessary. Despite the Reformation principle of the priesthood of all believers, Bibles of differing values were created, the original for the theologians, the translation for the congregation who were incapable of understanding the original. Because he was attempting to render not only the word but the spirit of the text, Luther did not see himself bound to translate every word or idiom literally though he would do so if it was not possible to render the full theological content of the original expression in the idiom of the other language. Luther's well-known views on translation are expressed in his *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen* (1530).¹⁰⁹ In this work the idea that translation can be carried out by the system of the passive reception and noting down of God-given promptings, the traditional view of inspirational translation, was refuted in the much quoted words,

"Was dolmetschen fur kunst und erbeit sey, das hab ich wol erfahren",¹¹⁰

and

"Ich weiß wol, und sie wissens weniger, denn des Mülners thier, was fur kunst, fleiß, vernunft, verstandt zum gutten dolmetscher gehöret, denn sie habens nicht versicht".¹¹¹

To make the saving message accessible to the layman, the Bible must be readily comprehensible and therefore,

"Ich hab mich des geflissen ym dolmetzschen, das ich rein und klar teutsch geben möchte".¹¹²

Because the character of German differs from that of Hebrew or Greek,

"man mus nicht die buchstaben inn der lateinischen sprachen fragen, wie man sol Deutsch reden, wie diese esel thun, sondern, man mus die mutter jhm hause, die kinder auff der gassen, den gemeinen man auff dem marckt drumb fragen, und den selbigen auff das maul sehen, wie sie reden, und darnach dolmetzschen, so verstehen sie es den und mercken, das man Deutsch mit jn redet",¹¹³

and thus he justifies the introduction of "allein" into Romans, 3:28. He is all too well aware of the problems inherent in attempting to present the ideas of one language in another,

"Denn die lateinischen buchstaben hindern aus der massen seer gut deutsch zu reden",¹¹⁴

To translate strictly according to the words leads to misunderstandings as he demonstrates with the problem of deciding how the angel Gabriel addressed Daniel and Mary.

¹⁰⁹ M. Luther, *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen*, 1530. WA, 30:2 (Weimar, 1909), pp. 627-646.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 639, lns 26-27.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 633, lns. 29-31.

¹¹² *ibid.*, p. 636, lns 15-16.

¹¹³ *ibid.*, p. 637, lns 17-22.

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 637, lns 34-35.

"Darumb mus ich hie die buchstaben faren lassen, unnd forschen, wie der Deutsche man solchs redet".¹¹⁵

And yet there are places where he prefers to violate the German language and has ensured that,
"...wo etwa an einem ort gelegenn ist, hab ichs nach den buchstaben behalten, und bin nicht so frey davon gangen".¹¹⁶

Not only

"wer dolmetzschen wil, mus grosse vorrath von worten haben, das er die wol könne haben, wo eins an allen orten nicht lauten will",¹¹⁷

but the work is best done by a group of people who must be prepared to work together at difficult parts for days at a time.

Having emphasised that translation needs skill, effort, concentration learning, co-operation and perseverance, Luther continues that,

"Es gehöret dazu ein recht, frum, trew, vleissig, forchtsam, Christlich, geleret, erfarn, geübt hertz".¹¹⁸

For Luther a Scripture translation, however industriously produced, is valueless unless created by a Christian inspired by the Holy Spirit. Jewish participation invalidates it. Thus he devalues the Septuagint.

Here is a completely new approach to Bible translation. The main task is to convey accurately the central message, the spirit but not necessarily the shape of the text, in a language familiar to the reader or listener. The Bible is no longer to be a revered but inaccessible sacred text understood only by a few scholars who will occasionally explain a few passages to the unlearned. It is the means of salvation to men and women who will hear, read and think for themselves.

Unlike translations of works in other fields, most medieval German Scripture translations, particularly of the Psalter, were essentially developments of the interlinear gloss.¹¹⁹ As the Germanic and the classical languages varied considerably in structure, vocabulary and ideas, finding the direct equivalents was difficult and sometimes impossible. The use of Greek, Hebrew or Latin structures in a German translation frequently led to renderings which were incomprehensible. But by dint of reproducing the original text in its precise word order the translator hoped to avoid accusations of heresy. Notker Labeo (950-1022) translated the Psalter freely as poetry, an exceptional approach and in line with Jerome's opinion that the Psalms were originally composed as Hebrew hexameters and pentameters, but ignoring Jerome's requirement that the physical shape of the text be revered and reproduced. The multiplicity of preserved manuscripts indicates

¹¹⁵ *Sendbrief*, WA, 30:2, p. 639, lns 17-18.

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 640, lns 20-22.

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 639, lns 21-23.

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 640, lns 27-28.

¹¹⁹ Marianne Wallach-Faller, "Dichterische Interlinearität als Ideal mittelalterlicher Psalmenverdeutschung", *Bayreuther Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft*, 1 (1978). (Pages not numbered.)

that Notker's translation was greatly admired, but the lack of ensuing similar works show that this translation method was outside the medieval monastic tradition. Marianne Wallach-Faller suggests that it was probably regarded by contemporaries as failing to achieve the somewhat unrealisable standards set by Jerome for biblical translators.¹²⁰

The reverence of early humanists such as Nikolaus von Wyle for the Latin language and their attempts to refine and elevate German by forcing it into a Latin mould played a part in the continued popularity of the word-for-word translation in the fifteenth century. Where an equivalent expression for a Latin phrase was lacking, to avoid an unwarranted departure from the Bible text a latinisation was pressed into service, despite the risk that the text would degenerate further into incomprehensibility. Although it was clear to some in the fifteenth century that translation according to the sense rather than the words offered much greater clarity, such people were swimming against the tide.¹²¹ Then, as more foreign languages became known in Germany in the sixteenth century, it was recognised that each language has its own characteristics and that it is not always possible to find direct equivalents for the words and structures of one language in another. This, together with a growing emphasis on the sense of the Bible, its central message, rather than its word form, encouraged a freer form of Bible translation. But it was essential that the translator should be aware that, even if he did not adhere slavishly to the words of the original, he should not allow himself the freedom to deviate so far from them that his translation becomes a mere paraphrase.¹²² Schwarz regards this new theory as having first been used in the two great Bible translations of the sixteenth century, Erasmus's New Testament of 1516 and Luther's of 1522.

Vernacular Bible translation was not a new phenomenon in the sixteenth century. It already had a long history dating from the Carolingian Renaissance, and the Psalter, no doubt because of its importance in the liturgy, was more frequently translated into the medieval German vernacular than any other book of the Bible.¹²³ Wilhelm Walther lists twenty four groups of pre-Lutheran High German psalter.¹²⁴ Occasional references in book catalogues show German psalters to have been in use in North Germany in the ninth century and one is described as being accompanied by a vernacular commentary.¹²⁵

From the early tenth century there is a Bavarian paraphrase in thirty-eight lines of Otfridian verse of Ps. 138. The north is represented in this period by an interlinear version of twenty-five psalms in Low Franconian.¹²⁶ A new era started with Notker Labeo (950-1022) whose Alemannic translation of the Psalter gives a verse of the Vulgate followed by a verse of German translation and then a few sentences of

¹²⁰ Wallach-Faller, final paragraph. (Pages not numbered.)

¹²¹ W. Schwarz, "Translation into German in the Fifteenth Century", *Modern Language Review*, 39 (1944), p. 373.

¹²² W. Schwarz, "The Theory of Translation in Sixteenth-century Germany", *Modern Language Review*, 40 (1945), p. 299.

¹²³ *Cambridge History of the Bible*, 2, p.415.

¹²⁴ Wilhelm Walther, *Die deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalters*, 1 (Braunschweig, 1889), col. 557-634.

¹²⁵ *Cambridge History of the Bible*, p. 423.

¹²⁶ *ibid.*, 422-3.

commentary. This is a development of the interlinear gloss. He even reordered the Latin text, modified the Latin syntax and supplied synonyms to aid comprehension. His German shows a Latin influence, a circumstance not surprising in an era when Latin was the language of learning and German lacked the necessary refinements of vocabulary and syntax. Despite his vernacular translation Notker regarded German only as a means to better understanding of the Latin. Even as late as the fourteenth century Notker's translation was still serving as the basis for further adaptation.¹²⁷ In the twelfth century free metrical versions outnumbered prose translations. Apart from some Gospel fragments, there only remain psalters, a few complete but most mere fragments. The interlinear version is still in evidence, as in the case of the complete psalter from Windsberg, Bavaria, from the second half of the twelfth century, but not all psalters took this form. The relative paucity of records for German biblical translations in prose between 1050 and 1250 moves the author of the appropriate section in the *Cambridge History of the Bible* to suggest that this throws light on the attitude of the contemporary Church to vernacular Scripture provision.¹²⁸ Walther also suggests that the relative lack of vernacular Bible translations from before the fourteenth century, compared with manuscripts of translation in other fields, is evidence that the monks of that time only sporadically saw the need for and significance of Bible study. He cites the translation of the Latin Gospel Harmony based on the Diatessaron as an exception.¹²⁹ They made do with biblical glosses, many of which survive.¹³⁰

The survival of so many manuscripts of Bible translations from the fourteenth century suggested to Walther that a new epoch had begun at that point in which there was a great demand for German Bibles.¹³¹ The Psalter continued to be the most translated biblical book.¹³² The best known is that by Heinrich von Mügeln, prepared between 1361 and 1369, with its up-to-date commentary in the shape of a reworking of that in Nicholas of Lyra's *Postil*.¹³³ Where the commentary or textual variations have been absorbed into the text the translation seems free and at times even to equal Luther's, but without these additions the text is no more advanced than other pre-Lutheran translations.¹³⁴ Despite the imperial edict of 1369 prohibiting German translations of religious books, which may have been only a local restriction aimed at combating heresy, and the papal decree of 1375, the habit of vernacular Bible study was too entrenched to be rooted out. Thirty-one manuscripts attest the popularity of Heinrich von Mügeln's Psalter, a popularity which continued into the age of printing.¹³⁵

¹²⁷ J. K. Bostock, *Old High German Handbook*, second edition revised by K. C. King and D.R. McLintock (Oxford, 1976), p. 183. *Cambridge History of the Bible*, 2, p. 424.

¹²⁸ *Cambridge History of the Bible*, 2, pp. 426-7.

¹²⁹ Bostock, p. 157.

¹³⁰ Walther, col. 714.

¹³¹ *ibid.*

¹³² *Cambridge History of the Bible*, 2, 432.

¹³³ F. W. Ratcliffe, "The Psalm Translation of Heinrich von Mügeln", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 43 (1960-61), pp. 426-451.

¹³⁴ Ratcliffe, pp. 440-443.

¹³⁵ *Cambridge History of the Bible*, 2, p. 433.

If the fourteenth century was an era of new efforts in Bible translation, in the fifteenth century the continuing demand was met by copies of older translations. The demand for psalters in the period immediately after the invention of printing was overtaken by that for complete Bibles, but the demand for psalters increased again between 1488 and 1518 and was so great that Furter in Basel could produce three editions of the Ratdolt Psalter in the two years 1502 and 1503. At the same time production of complete High German Bibles fell off.¹³⁶ Thus Luther's and Ottmar Nachtigall's psalter, published in 1524, appeared at the end of a period characterised by an interest in and demand for German psalters.

Fourteen pre-Lutheran vernacular Bibles were printed in Germany. They were all essentially the same translation, though revised and improved by successive printers. The first three Bibles, those printed by Mentel, Eggestein and Pflanzmann, were all basically the same early fourteenth-century text. From the fourth version, the Zainer Bible of 1473, attempts seem to have been made to correct the many errors caused by the misunderstanding of antiquated and unfamiliar medieval words. For example the early word "ambechter" was altered first to "anbeter" but in the Zainer version was corrected to "diener".¹³⁷ The predominance of the printed Mentel Bible with its antiquated characteristics has served to obscure the existence of a more contemporary linguistic trend within manuscript Scripture translation before Luther.¹³⁸ Manuscript versions continued to be produced after printed ones were available.

The printers of the early German Psalters had in a number of cases already printed complete Bibles which, though they were essentially the Vulgate in German garb, had at least been cleared of the worst shortcomings of the Mentel Bible. Yet, when they published separate psalters, they preferred to reproduce old and corrupt texts without reference to the text of the Psalter in their own vernacular Bibles. The Zainer Psalter demonstrates this tendency. At times the text was no longer comprehensible; words were often amended according to the Vulgate irrespective of sense or context. Exceptions to this early tendency to base German psalters on corrupt predecessors were those based on Notker's German Psalter with German translation and commentary, a version betraying a mature ability in the German language, relatively free of latinisms and hebraisms and not hampered by a blind reverence for the original text. Effects contrived in Hebrew by word order are achieved in Notker's German by the addition of extra words.¹³⁹

It would seem that by the late fifteenth century translators were expected to exercise greater conformity with the Vulgate version than had been the case in earlier years. Revisions of older texts, originally intended for the laity and the unlearned, ironed out aspects which were not in full accordance with church teaching. Walther was unable to decide whether these more conservative versions were produced because there was a growing demand for them from the clerics or to encourage the growth of such a demand, or indeed

¹³⁶ Walther, cols. 611 and 717-718.

¹³⁷ Walther, col. 71.

¹³⁸ *Cambridge History of the Bible*, 2, p. 434.

¹³⁹ Walther, col. 565-566.

whether they were provided by the Church to supply the needs of an enquiring laity or simply in a conscious attempt to prevent any too disastrous consequences of an already developing curiosity and thus to lessen the risk of the growth of heretical tendencies among the laity.¹⁴⁰ In 1494 Ratdolt did indeed print a version following Jerome's Hebrew Psalter and therefore not in agreement with the Vulgate, but presumably the authorities belatedly noticed his non-conformity and required him to bring his Psalter into line with official thought because in the second edition of 1499 changes are discernible after the first few pages which bring the text into line with the Vulgate text.¹⁴¹

The purpose of the German Psalters can be deduced from the introduction to a German breviary printed in Venice in 1518 which explains that this prayer book which also contains some psalms has been translated from Latin for the benefit of those who are incapable of understanding Latin and all its refinements, particularly women.¹⁴² The need for aids to the understanding of ritual had led to the production of utilitarian translations for the use of less learned clerics. With the growing importance of women in the Church from the late thirteenth century German translations were produced which were essentially substitutes for the Latin original, not simply cribs to its better understanding. This nevertheless did not lead to good translations and the interlinear characteristics were retained. The transition from strictly interlinear translation, via modified interlinear versions in which slight alteration to the word order was permissible, to a free translation conveying the spirit of the original was a very slow process, and it was on these early translations intended for uneducated nuns and priests that the first Bible translations for the laity appear to have been based. Walther indicates some psalters, the lay-out of which resembles that of interlinear translation but the German translation of which does not reproduce the Latin original. Walther also detects a link in the decline of the linguistic and theological ability of the translators of the period immediately prior to the advent of printing with a decrease in knowledge of and enthusiasm for the Bible on the part of the translators. He concludes therefore that,

"Erst als eine andere Schätzung der Bibel eintrat, eine solche, welche auch geistig Hochbegabte bewog, aus ihr als aus einer Lebensquelle unausgesetzt zu trinken, entstand auch eine andere Übersetzung."¹⁴³

Ottmar Nachtigall's attitude to the task of the Bible translator is revealed in the letter to Johann Cholérus in the *Plectra et scrupi* (1524), in the dedicatory letter at the front of his German Psalter of the same year and in the introduction to *Die gantz Evangelisch histori* (1525). He is conscious of forming part of a chain of those who have attempted to make the Scripture message accessible to others, referring to Augustine and

¹⁴⁰ Walther, col. 725.

¹⁴¹ Walther, cols. 608 and 610.

¹⁴² Walther, cols. 612-613.

¹⁴³ Walther, col. 750.

the Seventy.¹⁴⁴ The most significant advantage which Nachtigall, as a humanist, believes that he enjoys as a translator is the fact,

"das ich in der kriechischen sprach / darynnen die Evangelisten geschriben / vor vil iaren meyn zeyt (als ich mich versich) nit gar unnutzlich / verzert hab / Des halben mir müglicher ist gewesen auß sollicher sprach die ich gruntlich verstanden / als aus dem ersten brunnen / vil maynungen / die sich der kriechischen artickel / die sich mit dem teutschen vergleichen / und ander ursach halben / lieber lassen in teutsch / dann in lateyn reden / füglicher und klarer an tag zubringen / dann die so auß dem latein die wort verdolmetscht haben".¹⁴⁵

Not only is the spirit of the text better revealed in the original than in a Latin translation, but he is critical of the Latin texts,

"Dann der lateynisch text zñmal zerstört ist und unverstendig".¹⁴⁶

In the letter to Cholérus he expounds further on the subject, exclaiming,

"At qui dictu mirū quāta barbaries, quot verborū portēta, quae dictiōis impuritas, & affectata quodāmodo sparcitia in psalterū illud Latinū vulgate aeditiōis maiore nescio incuria, an inscitia irrepserint Nā hijs duabus potiūmū rebus. tēpora longa multos bonos libros viciant",

and later continuing, echoing Jerome and Erasmus,

"Quo loco curiosam, & mea quidē sententia prorsus supervacaneā quorundā superstitionē ridere liceat, q̄ in translatione scripturae sacrae, ita mordicus retinēt verba. ut omnē turbēt sententiā, potiūmū in reddendis Hebraismis: Quasivero ea demū sacra debeat haberi lectio, quae maxime sit foeda, plurimūq̄ confusa".¹⁴⁷

Schmidt indicates that Nachtigall became aware of the shortcomings of the word-for-word method of translation while working on Lucian's Dialogues during his Strasbourg period. The early renderings were word-for-word but the later ones reproduced the sense without such slavish adherence to the original wording.¹⁴⁸

His attitude to the words of the holy text is remarkably liberal and there is clearly no compulsion to adhere as closely as possible to the original word order for,

"Der text ist unser grundfeste darauff die evangelischen sach gätz stet / uñ ob schon ain ändrūg beschicht in dē wortē / so ir vil seind die solchē text verteutschen/ bringt dz nit

¹⁴⁴ Foreword to *Die gantz Evangelisch histori* (1525).

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ Dedication of Nachtigall's *Psalter des kinigs uñ propheten Davids* (1524).

¹⁴⁷ *Plectra et scrupi* (Augsburg, Siegmund Grimm, 1524).

¹⁴⁸ Schmidt, p. 179.

allain kain irrung / wie Augustinus schreibt / sonß wirt der maynüg treffenlich geholfen /
die etwa auß vil worten leichter ist zñ bringē / dañ auß wenigen".¹⁴⁹

A somewhat cavalier attitude to the text is demonstrated when, in justifying his arrangement of the four gospels in one, he suggests that some of the text is superfluous and confusing and then adds,

"Warzñ bedarff man des fünfften rads im wagen."¹⁵⁰

He is aware of the discrepancies in the linguistic contents of the Hebrew, Greek and Latin versions of the Old Testament,

"uß doch in dem sin ù der rechtē mainüg wirt kain unaynigkayt gefunden."¹⁵¹

Without Spiritual guidance the true significance of Scripture is hidden, an argument which Nachtigall substantiates in the foreword to the German Gospel Harmony with two examples: the differing uses made by both the Magi and Herod of the same Scriptural prophecy concerning the Nativity, and the widely differing meanings ascribed to the same biblical sayings by Christ and the Devil at the Temptation. Nachtigall apparently combines the linguistic and the inspired schools of thought. The translator must be divinely inspired before he can apply his hard-won linguistic expertise for,

"On dysen gayst mag mā nichts schaffen / Ain gyfftig thyer verwandelt alles dz in gyfft /
was es zñ im nymt".¹⁵²

Yet Nachtigall seems uncertain at times which is the first and most significant requirement for a Bible translator for he then writes,

"Es bedarff am ersten ains klaren verstands der sprachen / der nit on vil mñ ù lange zeyt
kombt".¹⁵³

These last words are reminiscent of Luther's famous description in his *Sendbrief* of the difficulties inherent in the translator's craft, "Was dolmetschen fur kunst und erbeit sey / das hab ich wol erfahren."¹⁵⁴ Even more reminiscent are the words in the dedication to the German Psalter where Nachtigall describes his translation as having been carried out "nit on grosse mñe auß krieischer [sic] sprach der .lxx. ausleger / unnd der art Hebreischer zungen...".

Nachtigall's view of the status of the actual words of the biblical text is made clear when he declares that,

"...dem sin ù klarē verstand mer dañ den wortē angehangē / wie auch die Sibentzig in
der außlegung des alten gesatz gethon habē / Dañ warzñ seind die wort anders nutz / dañ
dz man darauß etwas verstand?"¹⁵⁵

In order to make the understanding of the text as easy as possible,

¹⁴⁹ Foreword to *Die gantz Evangelisch histori* (1525).

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*

¹⁵² *ibid.*

¹⁵³ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ See n. 27.

¹⁵⁵ *Die gantz Evangelisch histori* (1525).

"...inn der verdeutschung / die weyl ich den kriechischen text vor mir gehabt / damit ich die maynung klar herfürgebracht / hab ich etwa vil wort für ains gebraucht / unnd ye etwas geändert / also das es den vorigen texten ungleych mag erscheynen."¹⁵⁶

He further believes that a translation which is not tied to the original modes of expression, far from restricting the meaning, extends it because it can introduce thought aspects not immediately obvious in a narrow translation, and he illustrates his point in the introduction to the German Gospel harmony with a discussion of the words "gratia plena" from Luke 1, 28, one of the phrases which particularly exercised Luther in his *Sendbrief*. Nachtigall discusses the meaning of "gratia", and in the text renders the phrase somewhat wordily in contrast with Luther's "du holdselige", as "du vast angenehmen un̄ begünstigte mit besonder hoher naygung und willen". He gives his reasons for this departure from the Vulgate, concluding in a tone reminiscent of, though less abrasive than, Luther,

"...hab ich nit wie der alt brauch inhelt vol genaden gesagt / Darumb das genad meines bedunkens / mer ain nachlassung / freyhayt / oß begebung ainer schuld bedeutet / daß ainen besondern gunst un̄ genaygten willen / wie dz kriechisch wort *kecharitomeni* vermag. Wyll doch hyemit das lob der ausserwelten gebereryn gottes nit geringert, sonder wie ich mich versich, gemert habē / Verlangē auch nit das sie vol sey der genad gotes / un̄ ob ainem dz selb bas gefall / brauch ers meinethalb / Ich will es nit bestreytē..."¹⁵⁷

In his translation of the Greek word "logos" in John 1,1 Nachtigall diverges from both the traditional texts and Luther but accords with Erasmus. On linguistic grounds he uses "rede", not "wort". This section of the introduction to the 1525 German Gospel Harmony closes with a conciliatory statement:

"Doch will ich hie auch mit nyemand kriegē / und laß mich bēnügen das ich mein ursach hab fūrgewent / Ich hab darnach etlich umstend zū dem text gethon / damit er dest bas wurd verstandē."

It is of interest to note at this point that Nachtigall, in his commentary in the German Psalter on Psalm 1, loosely translates Romans 3, 28 as,

"durch welche glauben wir allain mügen rechtfertig gemacht werden",

thus introducing the controversial word which was so central to the Reformation upheavals.

Although Ottmar Nachtigall was able to carry out his advocated return to the original language for the understanding of the New Testament,¹⁵⁸ there is no indication that he was able to carry out the same principle with regard to the Psalter and Hebrew. Though Rein's *Gesamtes Augspurgisches Evangelisches*

¹⁵⁶ *Die gantz Evangelish histori* (1525).

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.*

Luther, *Sendbrief*, WA, 30:2, p. 638, lns 27-29.

¹⁵⁸ "Epistola noncupatoria" (1521). "Et latinae quidem linguae homines quos nunc instituendos suscepimus, et duabus aliis ad scripturarum divinarum cognitionem habent opus, hebrea scilicet et graeca, ut a exemplaria recurratur, si quam dubitationem attulerit latinorum interpretum infinita varietas. Sunt proinde quaedam verba certarum linguarum, quae in usum alterius linguae per interpretationē transire non possunt.

Ministerium of 1749 ascribes to him a knowledge of Hebrew, Schmidt in 1879 points out¹⁵⁹ that in his corrections to the Psalter, "comme il ne savait pas le hebreu", he had to refer to a Latin translation by the converted rabbi, Felix de Prato, which was based on the Hebrew text. The evidence is found in the letter dedicating the "Scrupi" to Johann Choléus which reads as follows:

"Porro quae mea est in literas sacras à teneris observātia, cū prae negotijs minime tibi
liceret aeditis in hoc lucubrationibus, psalteriū à mendis vindicare: scrupos quosdam in
psalmis indicavi, q turbāt syncerā lectionē: multis insuper Hebraeorū dialectis ex Felicis
Pratensis natione Hebraei trāslatione latine redditus."¹⁶⁰

Nachtigall was apparently only partially able to carry out the "back to the sources" approach to Bible translation which he himself advocated. Had he been, like Luther, a member of a translating committee, his own inadequacies in the field of Hebrew studies could have been compensated for by the abilities of his colleagues. There is even a hint in Nachtigall's rendering of Ps. 51 that his competence in Latin might not always have been reliable. His German version of vv. 5-6 follows the same lines but is a great improvement on those in M and Z but he introduces the superfluous phrase "und versenkung ins mer" into v. 6. Possibly there was an optical confusion of "aequitatem" as found in v. 5b of the Latin *Psalmi iuxta LXX* with "aequor" and thus it was introduced into his translation of v. 6. Possibly the error is attributable to his immediate source, Latin or Greek.¹⁶¹ Such obvious errors are rare.

In Ottmar Nachtigall we see many aspects combined. He was a theologian who declared the necessity for a Bible translator to be both guided by the Holy Spirit and also versed in the languages of the originals. Because he was not held in thrall by reverence for the original wording he was free to translate in an expansive explanatory way and thus reveal what he saw as the various aspects of the meaning of the original wording. The original texts were all-important but the translation had to be such that the reader could understand it. He saw that a single word in an original language cannot always be represented by a single word in German and that to do so is to misrepresent the original and to distort the Gospel message. In many ways his approach to Bible translation coincided with that of Luther, but Nachtigall lacked the profound spiritual experience which filled Luther with missionary zeal and fired his translation activity with such urgency. Nevertheless he criticised the authority of the established Latin version of the Bible at a time when it was potentially dangerous to do so.

¹⁵⁹ Schmidt, p. 197.

¹⁶⁰ *Plectra et scrupi* (1524).

¹⁶¹ The version in Z is slightly less archaic than M and reads: "Du hast liebgehabt die bößheit über die gütigkeit die bößheit mer zereden denn die warheit. Du hast liebgehabt alle wort der überstürtzung in einer trieglichen zunge." Nachtigall renders it as: "Du hast liebgehabt ungerechtigkayt mer daß fromkayt / und böses lieber geredt daß was recht und gut was. Dir seind lieb gewesen alle wort der verderbnüß / und versenkung ins mer deiner falschen zungen beschehen." The Latin Septuagint has: "dilexisti malitiam super benignitatem iniquitatem magis quam loqui aequitatem / dilexisti omnia verba praecipitationis linguam dolosam." Conceivably the confusion might have increased during Nachtigall's reading of German versions as a result of the visual impact of the presence of the adverbial "mer denn" in v. 5 in close proximity to "aequitatem", a word with a superficial resemblance with "aequor". The confusion could well have been increased by the connotations of "Meer" and "mehr" discernable in too hasty a perusal of the text.

Chapter 4

Comparison of Psalm texts

Psalm texts used in this comparison:

Der Psalter des kinigs uñ propheten Davids / ain sumari und kurtzer begryff aller hayligen geschriß durch Otmaren Nachtigallen Doctorem / von grund / auß den .lxx. und hebreischer sprach art uñ aygenschaft zñ verstendigen und klaren hochteutschē gebracht / der geleychen vor nye gesehen / sambt ayns yeden psalmen kurtzen inhalt uñ begryff / Mit erklerung der schwerern örter / und puncten wie man die verstōn sol. Uñ wie sie den menschē zñ ainem Christenlichen lebē weysen / got zñ lob uñ eer. (Augsburg, Sigmund Grimm, 1524.) Referred to in this chapter as ON.

Psalter in German Bible printed by Johann Mentel, Strasbourg, c. 1466, in *Erste deutsche Bibel*, 7, edited by W Kurrelmeyer (Tübingen, 1910), pp. 238-528. Text based on anonymous translation of c. 1350.¹⁶² Referred to in this chapter as M.

Teutsch Psalter (Johann Zainer, Ulm, c. 1489). Reproduces text of tenth High German Bible printed by Johann Grüninger in Strasbourg in 1485.¹⁶³ Referred to in this chapter as Z.

Luther's *Psalter*, editions of 1521 (Ps. 36(37) and 1522 (Ps. 10), WA, 8, 1889, pp. 205-240; editions of 1524, 1531 and 1545 (Ps. 10, 22, 36 and 150), WA, *Deutsche Bibel*, 10:1, 1956, pp. 94-590. Referred to in this chapter as L1521, L1522, L1524, L1531 and L1545.

Psalmi iuxta LXX, in *Biblia sacra vulgata* (Stuttgart, 1983).

Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum, in *Biblia sacra vulgata* (Stuttgart, 1983).

Liber Psalmorum nova e textibus primigeniis interpretatio latina cura professorum pontificii instituti biblici edita (Rome, Turin and Paris, 1947), prepared as an alternative to the Clementine version and frequently called *Psalterium Pianum*. Referred to in this chapter as PP .

¹⁶² Herbert Walz, *Deutsche Literatur der Reformationszeit* (Darmstadt, 1988), p. 9.

¹⁶³ J. Ashcroft, "Bruder Hans's >Teutsch Psalter<. Uses of literacy in a late medieval monastery", *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1985, p. 125.

Kaspar Amman, *Psalter des küniglichen propheten davids geteutsch nach wahrhaffigem text der hebraischē zungē* (Augsburg: Siegmund Grimm, 1523), in Reinitzer, *Biblia deutsch* (Wolfenbüttel and Hamburg, 1983), p. 98.

It seems appropriate to examine in the light of some other Psalter texts Ottmar Nachtigall's claim that he had,

"den Psalter des künigs und Propheten Davids nit on grosse mße auß krieischer sprach der .lxx. außleger / unnd der art Hebreischer zungen (Dann der lateynisch text zñ mal zerstört ist und unverstendig) in unser hochdeutschgebracht".¹⁶⁴

The Latin *Psalmi iuxta LXX.*, the Latin Psalter known as Jerome's Hebrew Psalter, two German predecessors available in the library of St. Andrews University and Luther's versions, particularly those of 1524 or earlier have been chosen for this purpose. Ignorance of Hebrew on my part makes it impossible to carry out a comparison with contemporary or earlier psalters in that language, but the more recent Hebrew-based Latin *Psalterium Pianum*, throws light on the Hebrew source. Of the two earlier German Psalters, that published c.1466 by Mentel as part of the first printed German Bible is the older and is based on an anonymous manuscript version of 1350.¹⁶⁵ It was originally a vernacular gloss for the use of nuns ignorant of Latin which was later intended in its printed form mainly as a Bible for the laity. The Teutsch Psalter printed by Johann Zainer was presumably also intended for the use of the laity both within the church and without.¹⁶⁶

Psalm 10

Nachtigall's version of Psalm 10 can be compared, not only with the Latin versions, with M and Z and with Luther's three versions of 1524, 1531 and 1545, but also with Luther's translation of 1522. In that year Luther translated the bull of excommunication of 1521 which named him as a heretic, extensively glossing each paragraph. The psalm was provided as an illustration of what Luther regarded as David's prophetic foreknowledge concerning the religious upheavals of the early sixteenth century.¹⁶⁷

The psalm, which is numbered 10 by Luther and in the subsequent Protestant Psalters, appears in the *Psalmi iuxta LXX*, the *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum*, PP and the earlier German versions, as a continuation of no. 9. This divergence suggests a grouping along confessional lines. Nachtigall introduces the psalm as,

"Der zehend psalm nach den hebraischen / der doch nit überschriben ist / dabey zumerckē das er zñ dem vorigen gehört ...".

¹⁶⁴ Nachtigall's dedication to Raimund and Anton Fugger of his German Psalter.

¹⁶⁵ Herbert Walz, *Deutsche Literatur der Reformationszeit* (Darmstadt, 1988), p. 9.

¹⁶⁶ Ashcroft, p.129.

¹⁶⁷ *Bulla coenae domini, das ist, die Bulle vom Abendfressen des allerheiligsten Herrn, des Papstes, verdeutscht durch Martin Luther*, 1522, in WA, 8 (1889), pp. 691-720.

Thus, while in agreement with Luther in his presentation of this psalm as a separate entity, he contrives to conform with the traditional view that regarded it and no. 9 as a unit, and accordingly he presents the notes for both psalms together. In accordance with this somewhat illogical system, Nachtigall describes the following psalm, which in Luther's versions and the following Protestant Bibles is Ps.11, as,

"Der zehend Psalm nach den lxx. außlegern / und nach den hebraischen der xj."

So by presenting two psalms numbered as 10, one according to the Hebrew and one according to the Septuagint, he remains in step with the Vulgate where it is out of phase with the Protestant versions from Psalm 10 to Psalm 147. The modern Vulgate also resorts to this remedy, the psalm after ps. 9, which in the earlier versions appeared as vv. 22-39 of Ps.9, being no. (10) and the one subsequent to it no. 10. By this method Nachtigall contrives to remain more or less within the parameters of the traditionally sanctioned Psalter and at the same time to indicate his respect for and awareness of the Hebrew tradition.

Both Ottmar Nachtigall and Luther consider this psalm to refer to the Antichrist, Luther very specifically seeing it in 1522 as David's prophecy concerning the rise and downfall of the Antichrist in the person of the Pope¹⁶⁸ and concluding his translation and exegesis with the prayer,

"Darumb ist nur tzuschreyen und got tzubitten widder den heubtschalk aller gottis feynde,
bisz das er komme und erlosze unsz von ihm: wir haben rechtschuldigenn. Sprech Amen,
wer ein Christen ist".¹⁶⁹

Nachtigall's title announces in general terms that the psalm,

"ist vom Antichrist und ainem jeden verachter gottes zůverstehen",

and no attempt is made to identify the Antichrist. Indeed, note o indicates that in Nachtigall's view the Antichrist can be any rebellious human

"der gleich mit sölchem gewalt wider Gott handelt / als ob er auch Gott were".

It is impossible to establish the views of the translators of M and Z on the subject of this psalm. In conformity with the Vulgate version both present it as a continuation of Ps. 9.¹⁷⁰

Luther's 1522 translation differs greatly from that of 1524 but both versions are no doubt more pleasing to the modern ear than that of Nachtigall. This is demonstrated by the first verse. Yet Nachtigall's rendering of this verse is an improvement on those in M and Z. M, Z and ON all reflect the *Psalmi iuxta LXX* whereas Luther's versions all display a close relationship with the Latin either of Jerome's Hebrew Psalter or, from 1524, of the Hebrew texts reflected in PP. Possibly in 1522 Luther still lacked the confidence that his

¹⁶⁸ See, for example, Luther's interpretation of vv. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, and 18.

¹⁶⁹ See the concluding lines of Hans Sachs's version of this psalm (1562),

"Wer aber diser gottloß sey, Mit seiner geistlichen tyranny,
den darff man nicht mit namen nennen, An früchten thut man in erkennen." *Hans Sachs. Werke*, ed. Keller and Goetze (Hildesheim, 1964), XVIII, p. 58.

¹⁷⁰ Missing leaves from Z include the whole of Ps. 8 and the heading and first few words of Ps. 9. The heading in of Ps. 9 in M is irrelevant.

knowledge of Hebrew would allow him to translate unaided straight from an original in that language.¹⁷¹ By 1524 he was translating independently, though in collaboration with colleagues. Thus by 1524 Luther's translations seem to betray similar Hebrew sources to those of PP, which was published in 1945 as an alternative to the long established Clementine version. The use of tenses is interesting in verse 1. Luther's 1522 version looks to the future but his subsequent versions all have the present tense, thus linking future and present in a repeated action. M, Z and ON, with their use of the perfect tense, all have a more historical and distant outlook.

There is an obvious contemporary allusion in v. 2 of L1522. Whereas M and Z both translate "incenditur" of *Psalmi iuxta LXX* as "angezündt" and Nachtigall uses "entzündet", Luther declares that the godless "vorprennet die armen" and his commentary on this verse explains,

"Tzwar allein das vorprennen tzeygt gnugsam an, das der Papst sey, den diszer psalm meynet".

The degree of specificity thus introduced into the text by Luther in 1522 is the subjective reaction to his own circumstances and those of his followers. From 1524 the concept of burning represented in the early version disappears to be replaced by that of suffering which is also found in PP. M, Z, ON and L1522 all render "pauper" of v. 2 and 12 as "arm", but from 1524 Luther allows himself much greater freedom, translating "miser" and "pauper" as "elend" and "arm", but with no apparent discipline as to which German word renders which Latin equivalent.

While Nachtigall's version of v. 5 can be seen to conform with *Psalmi iuxta LXX*, the relationship of Luther's translation is not so easily discerned. His interpretation of v. 5a of the 1522 version shows, however, that his aim is to reproduce the meaning rather than the wording of the original text and that the German of L1522 is indeed a much freer equivalent of v. 5 of *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum*.¹⁷² V. 5c of L1522 is a remarkably colloquial rendering which finds no reflection in the other versions. Luther removes this "er redt frey keck gegen alle seyne widderwertigen" from his later editions. Indeed, after 1522 Luther's versions of this verse appear more closely related to PP than to *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum*, a further indication of his developing knowledge of Hebrew. M and Z provide versions of v. 5d of *Psalmi iuxta LXX* which are to the modern ear awkwardly literal. Surely Nachtigall's "Er hat got nit vor augen" is an improvement on the "Got der ist nitt in seiner bescheude" of M and on "Got ist nit in seinē angesicht" of Z; and his "seine weg werden allzeyt verunraynt" is less antiquated than "seine weg die seint entseubert in eim ieglichen zeit" (M)¹⁷³ and "seine weg sein vermailgt in einer yeglichē zeit" (Z). M and Z both have "herrschen" with the

¹⁷¹ In the summer of 1522 Luther started his translation of the Old Testament for which he had to refer to Jerome's translation, Konrad Pellikan's Hebrew Psalter of 1516, Reuchlin's *De rudimentis hebraicis* (1506) and, where appropriate, Reuchlin's *Septem psalmi poenitentiales* (1512). Walz, p. 16.

¹⁷² WA, 8, 1889, p. 713, ln. 23-27. Part of Luther's 1522 exegesis of v. 5 reads: "Denn auff hebreysch lauts: parturiunt, das ist, seyne wege odder werk geperen altzeyt die hohe, das ist, alles, was er thut, ist allein, das er mit sorgen und angst, wie ein weyb ein kind mit schmerzen gepirt, sich erhebe ubir alle Bischoff, fursten, konige unnd was da hoch ist".

¹⁷³ Neuter form of "Zeit" an Upper German variant. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, XV, cols. 521-522.

genitive, an old usage abandoned by Nachtigall who, in conformity with the later usage of "herrschen" + preposition prefers "herrschen über". Ottmar Nachtigall is thus seen to have a linguistic gift, an ability to clothe his text in a more modern garb than that of M and Z. He lived just on the right side of a watershed in linguistic development.

In v. 6 there is another example of Nachtigall following *Psalmi iuxta LXX* and yet freeing his translation of slavish adherence to the Latin. His translation of this verse is much less wooden and, indeed, the greater length of his rendering, "Dañ er hat in seinem hertzen geredt / ich würd nymer mer entsetzt / von welt zñ welt wird mir kayn übel zuhanden geen", indicates that he is sometimes willing to translate a Latin word by a group of German ones. Yet his translation has not here become interpretation, except to the extent that all translation is to some degree interpretation because of the impossibility of finding a precise equivalent for every word of an original text. Luther's 1522 translation of this verse strikes a more idiomatic note with "Ich werde nicht wancken", but the later versions replace the direct sounding "wancken" with "umbgestossen werden" (L1524), "darnidder ligen" (L1531) and "darnider ligen" (L1545). The clumsy use of "von geschlecht in geschlecht" (M and Z) and Nachtigall's rather better "von welt zñ welt" are expressed by Luther as "fur und fur" (L1522, L1531 and L1545).

In v. 7, as is to be expected, M and Z reflect the *Psalmi iuxta LXX*. In 1524 Nachtigall and Luther have the same German translation, perhaps because of the similarity of the Latin sources. By 1531, however, Luther had shaken off the Latin wording and was expressing the content more freely as "seine zunge richt mühe und erbeit an". Luther's comments on v. 7 in L1522 again indicate the degree to which he regards this psalm as a direct reference to the papal Antichrist.¹⁷⁴

The German of v. 8 in M is a literal rendering of *Psalmi iuxta LXX* and that of Z is even less satisfactory. Nachtigall's version is smoother. The word order has been rearranged into convincing German and he has replaced "erschlach" with "tödtte". Luther's 1522 version of v. 8a and 8b reflects *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum*, though he has taken some liberties with the Latin grammar.¹⁷⁵ His 1524 version is not essentially different. In v. 9a (8c in Luther) the versions all refer to the "arm"; Luther prefers "den armen hauffen" as a translation for what the *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum* expresses as "robustos" and PP as "pauperem". This he retained in 1524 but in 1531 and 1545 he also preferred "armen".

What is presumably a latinism, the word "leo", is still found in v. 9 of Z but M has the MHG form "lew". Nachtigall's use of the same form "leo" in 1524 is also presumably a Latinism. Luther, on the other hand,

¹⁷⁴ WA, 8 (1889), p. 715, v. 7: "Die welt hat er voll, voll, voll engstlicher, todlicher, hellischer strick gelegt, das heyst, muhe und erbeit unter seiner tzungenn. Sihestu, wie eben der prophet den Bapst hat erkennet szo lange tzuvor!"

¹⁷⁵ Luther's v. 8c represents v. 9a in *Psalmi iuxta LXX* and *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum*.

from his first version used "lew", the form common throughout his Bible translations. Clearly the variants were still unstable in the early sixteenth century.¹⁷⁶

There are few significant variations among the vocabularies used in v. 12 in M, Z, ON and L. The passive construction of *Psalmi iuxta LXX* is manifested in M and Z as "werd erhöcht"; ON retains it in a more complex form, using the ENHG future construction, "sollen werden". Luther's version of this verse reflects in its use of the imperative form, as is to be expected, Jerome's Hebrew Psalter and PP. His rendering is more specific to Christian (Protestant) believers, particularly as it follows directly those verses which Luther elucidates as referring to the persecution by the Pope of those regarded as heretics. M, Z, ON and L1522 all have "der armen". In his 1524 version Luther, however, has replaced "der armen" with "der elenden", a change which removes some of the emphasis on monetary poverty, though the Hebrew based PP retains "pauperum". By 1545 "der elenden" has become "des elenden", thus making the psalm specific to the individual. The comments on v. 13 of L1522 had already made it clear that "die armen" were not to be thought of as "the poor" in the narrowly monetary sense but as those suffering persecution by the Pope for their religious beliefs.

In this verse (v. 12) the imperative form of the verb "stehen" appears in ways that indicate no uniformity of usage. In the ENHG period "stand" was common throughout Germany.¹⁷⁷ The early versions, M and Z, have "stee"¹⁷⁸; L1522 has "stand", as also does ON, which would seem to conform to contemporary usage, but in 1524 Luther has used "stehe" which he retains in the 1531 and 1545 versions. These two imperative forms reflect older variants which by the early fifteen hundreds were possibly optional. The "stand" form was perhaps the more elevated or archaic. Nachtigall, in line with the developments in Upper German in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, uses the perfect tense in v. 13 as he had done in v. 6, where the imperfect tense appears in M and Z. Luther's construction is completely different.

Nachtigall does not in Ps. 10 habitually translate each Latin word with an equivalent German one. Perhaps he can be regarded as occupying a half-way house between M / Z and Luther, even the 1522 version of Luther, as far as the quality of translation is concerned. It is interesting that Luther frequently abandons his earlier version in favour of something apparently less colloquial, more conservative and even clumsier, as we have noted in v. 6 of this psalm.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Grimm *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, VI, col. 825.

¹⁷⁷ Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, IX:2, cols 1401-1402.

¹⁷⁸ M has this form in other books, e.g. Matthew, 2, vv. 13 and 20.

¹⁷⁹ Heinz Blum, "Luther's German Bible", *Essays in Commemoration of a Quincentenary 1483-1983*, ed. Peter Newman Brooks (Oxford, 1983), p. 180, notes this tendency in Luther to tone down in later formal versions the colloquial content of his earlier Biblical translations.

Psalm 22 (23)

It comes as no surprise in the light of the examination of Ps. (9b)10 that the opening line of Psalm (22)23 in the M and Z versions coincides with *Psalmi iuxta LXX* and that Luther's first line relates to *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum* and PP. But to discover that Ottmar Nachtigall opens his translation of this psalm with the same words as Luther is more interesting. Both the latter begin with "Der herr ist mein hyrt", a loose rendering of the "Dominus pascit me" of *Psalmi iux. Hebr. and PP.*

In v.2a M and Z closely follow *Psalmi iuxta LXX*. ON seems to be a freer translation of the same. Luther's 1524 version and the revisions of 1531 and 1545 are based on the other tradition and sound less awkwardly literal. A divergence is to be noted in v. 2b, where M and Z both render the "educare" of *Psalmi iuxta LXX* with the verb "füren" but Nachtigall, with greater faithfulness to his Latin source, has used "aufferzogen". Possibly this variance is accounted for as a confusion on the part of the translators of M and Z or their earlier sources of "educare" with "educere". Luther uses "furet" which is in accord with PP's "conducit" and presumably reflects Luther's Hebrew source.

M, Z and L all have similar translations of v. 3b except that in place of "steig" (M and Z) Luther uses "strasse" and he extends "um seinen namen" to a more idiomatic "um seyns namens willen". At this point Nachtigall has departed imaginatively from all the Latin variants under inspection and impresses the reader with,

"Er ist mein wegweiser gewesen auff den fußsteygen der gerechtigkayt um seinen namens willen".

This verse also demonstrates, as does the whole psalm, Nachtigall's capable use of the aspectual perfect tense by which a connection with the present is achieved. Luther, on the other hand, uses the present tense in place of the perfect.

A modernisation of sentence construction and vocabulary is to be seen in v. 4 of ON which, like M and Z, reflects *Psalmi iuxta LXX* but is less archaic. The use of "sy selb" (M) and "die selbē" (Z) in v. 4d directly reproduces "ipsa" of *Psalmi iuxta LXX*. Nachtigall renders this as a simple demonstrative pronoun interposed between the subject and the verb, a typical ENHG usage which still reflects the Latin but in a somewhat less clumsy form than that used in Z and M. Luther, however, omits the demonstrative pronoun altogether. The first part of this verse in Nachtigall's translation also illustrates an improvement in the choice of vocabulary, "in mitzt" (M) and "in mit" (Z) becoming "mitten in" (ON); and "würdt ich mich kains übelß besorgen / darumb das du bey mir bist" is a great improvement on "ich fürcht nit die übelß ding wann du bist bey mir"(Z) though his replacement of "wann" (Z and M) by "darumb das" does reduce the flow of the text somewhat. Luther's version simply has "denn". Versions M, Z and ON all follow "in medio umbrae mortis" of *Psalmi iuxta LXX*, but Luther from 1524 on has "ym finstern tal" which relates most closely, not

to "in valle mortis" of *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum* but to "in valle tenebrosa" of PP, doubtless betraying Luther's increasing ability in Hebrew and his decreasing dependence on translations made by other people. In v. 4 Luther's use of alliteration in "stecken und stab" is poetic and thus in keeping with the nature of the Hebrew original. Here is demonstrated Luther's recognition of the difficulty often ignored by translators, that a passage not only contains vocabulary in its original form but also has its own peculiar character. Luther has contrived to retain something of the nature of the original, though by means of different techniques, without doing damage to the meaning of its content.

In v. 5a Nachtigall changed "den tisch" to "ain tisch", "in meiner bescheude" (M) / "in meinem angesicht" (Z) becomes "vor meinem angesicht" and the repetitious "wider die die" of M and Z appears as the hardly less clumsily repetitious "gegē allen denen so". Luther's version is considerably more succinct, but so also are the renderings of *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum* and PP, the Latin representatives of his source. Nachtigall's variation on v. 5b introduces a number of alterations and modernisations. "Du hast mein haubt mit ôl fayßt gemacht" shakes off the antiquated tone of M and Z, and the substitution of "dein becher" (ON) for "mein kelch" (M and Z), if this is not a printer's error, would seem to indicate a distinctive emphasis in Nachtigall's theological interpretation of this passage. His explanatory note f. clarifies why he has replaced "mein" with "dein" and links the psalm with the New Testament.¹⁸⁰ Luther's version of this section of this verse reads, of course, in closest accordance with PP. The improvements which Ottmar Nachtigall introduced into this verse are considerable, though they perhaps do not achieve the standards of Luther's poetic but authentic German, the final version of which, produced for the 1531 version is,

"Du salbest mein heubt mit ôle, und schenkest mir vol ein".

Perhaps because of the discrepancy between the length of the final words of this psalm in the Latin of *Psalmi iuxta LXX* and those chosen for the literal German translations of M and Z, these German versions seem to end on an uncertain and inadequate note. The number of syllables is insufficient. "Das auch ich einwone (Z) / entwele (M) in dem haus(e) des herren(herrn)" rings out, but the verse and Psalm fizzle out with "in die leng(e) der tag". Nachtigall perhaps recognised this inadequacy because his conclusion is emphatic. He replaces "der" with the longer word "aller" and repeats the idea of the final phrase in a single suitable word, thus drawing out "in die leng der tag" to "nach der lenge aller tag ewigklich". Here he has exhibited linguistic and poetic talent. Nevertheless, Luther probably outdoes him with his conclusion which is expressed in words which are optimistic, emphatic, reverent and, at the same time, more convincingly down-to-earth German.

¹⁸⁰ The second of the notes so labelled, presumably an error. Nachtigall draws the readers attention to the appropriate New Testament text, "Wann uns der gayst Gottes übergeht / so vergessen wir des fleysches / und spotet unser die welt als der trunknen. Actuum 2", pp. 56-57.

Examination of Nachtigall's version of Psalm 22 (23) shows him, except possibly in the case of v. 1, firmly anchored within the Latin tradition, and his translation, despite his advocacy of a return "ad fontes", based on the version of the Bible acceptable to Church authorities. His readiness to deviate from the precise wording of the Latin of *Psalmi iuxta LXX*. did, however, enable him to modernise and elevate the German text to greater heights than those attained in M and Z, even though his was a less overall achievement than that of Luther.

Psalm 150

Psalm 150 can be treated as a list of musical vocabulary without the complication of theological considerations. The studies of Psalms 10 and 23 reveal Ottmar Nachtigall, like the translators of M and Z, following the Latin tradition and producing versions which coincide with *Psalmi iuxta LXX*., yet his treatment of Ps. 150 betrays a willingness at least to contemplate an alternative rendering from that suggested by the Latin Septuagint. Though his translation of v. 1 differs in no essential from that in M and Z, his note a reads,

"Oder in seiner manigfaltigē hayligung / hailigkait / in dem hailigen wie 8 hebraisch text vermag...".

It is indeed possible to relate these alternative renderings of v. 1 to the version found in *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum*. Luther's rendering of this verse is in accordance with PP, using "inn seynem heylichthum" for "in sanctuario ejus". This discrepancy between Luther and Nachtigall would suggest that, whereas Luther did indeed translate from the Hebrew, Nachtigall could approach indeed no closer to the original than Latin translations such as those by Jerome and Felix da Prato. Nachtigall can here be seen suggesting, but within the relative safety of his explanatory notes, a possible revision, albeit one limited by the extent of his linguistic knowledge, of the traditional Latin version of the Psalter. The priest and the humanist are in a state of tension and he lacks the confidence to question Papal authority and create a new Scriptural translation.

In v. 1b "firmamento" of *Psalmi iuxta LXX* is reproduced in M as "vestenkeit" and in Z as "firmamēt". These Nachtigall revises to "feste". The list of musical instruments is essentially the same in all the versions except that Luther translates "organo" not as "orgel" but as "pfeyffen". In v. 4 the phrase which in all the Latin versions appears as "in tympano et choro", Luther's is the only one of the translations under examination to reintroduce the element of dancing into "chorus". The divergence from Z and ON of M in its use of "in den seyten" to represent the Latin "inchoro" is possibly accounted for by a confusion of "in...choro" with "in chordis" in the following line. Nachtigall's translation of v. 6 is, like those in M and Z, in conformity with *Psalmi iuxta LXX* whereas Luther's is, predictably, related to the Latin of *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum* and PP. Nachtigall's commentary, however, draws his interpretation of this verse closer to that

of Luther than is obvious from the bare words of his translation and even endows it with a greater spiritual content than is inherent in Luther's version of the same words, for he comments,

"Alles das da lebt / nach dem leiplichen zergencklichen leben / unnd nit allayn die selben /
sonder auch die nach dem gaist Gottes ain ewigs leben haben..."¹⁸¹

It might be argued that Nachtigall's use of the preposition "mit" in place of the "in" which M and Z have taken straight from *Psalmi iuxta LXX* in verses 3-5 is an innovation which modernised the language of this psalm and brought within the sphere of everyday life. Luther also used "mit", but it seems likely that this results from his acquaintance with the Hebrew original rather than simply a facility in the German language for, although *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum* uses "in", PP uses the ablative forms without a preposition. From this circumstance it might be deduced that the Hebrew used a related construction which Luther transposed into the German of his translation. It is finally worthy of note that *Psalmi iuxta LXX*, M, Z and ON all omit the concluding Alleluia common to *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum*, PP and all three of Luther's versions.

This psalm thus also confirms the picture of Nachtigall as working as a translator strictly within the limits of the Latin tradition of Bible translations. His language here is hardly different from the earlier versions except in a few minor modernisations. His notes, however, indicate that he is open to influences such as Jerome's Hebrew Psalter and that his interpretation of Scripture has a distinctly spiritual and personal content.

Psalm 36 (37)

Luther translated this psalm and Ps. 67 (68) to encourage his friends and congregation when he was in retreat at the Wartburg and they were published separately in August, 1521.¹⁸² There is thus, as was the case with Ps. 10, a pre-1524 translation by Luther of Ps. 36 (37) with which Otmar Nachtigall's version can be compared.

From the first verse it is clear that Nachtigall and Luther were basing their translations on different sources. In the previously considered psalms Nachtigall has generally been seen to follow *Psalmi iuxta LXX* but his opening "Nit rayt ander leüt zñ bösem" does not obviously fit into this category. It is also couched in a more mature German than are the renderings in M and Z. Luther's versions from 1524 onwards of v. 1a reflect the Latin of PP, a circumstance confirming his now fully developed facility in Hebrew. But even his 1521 version of v. 1 reflects neither *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum*, the source to which he seems to have turned for his early translation of Ps. 10, nor the *Psalmi iuxta LXX*. Nor are we enlightened by referring to PP.

¹⁸¹ ON, Ps. 150, note c, p. 383.

¹⁸² WA, 8 (1889), pp. 205-240.

Possibly Luther was referring for v. 1 to a different source or was simply indulging in a freedom of expression which he forewent in his later or more formal versions.¹⁸³ Nachtigall's rendering of v. 1a bears a close resemblance to Luther's later versions and diverges from M and Z. Not only does Nachtigall here diverge from the traditional version as reflected in M and Z but his language is freer and more contemporary. Possibly the divergence could be accounted for as the influence of the Greek Septuagint.

V. 2 shows Nachtigall ready, at least where no violence is thereby done to the sacred meaning of the text, to make additions. He is not in a state of awed reverence for the very words of the Psalter and can thus insert "auff der wayd", a phrase not present in any of the other versions.

Nachtigall does not always modernise the language. In v. 11, for example, he leaves "in multitudine pacis" of *Psalmi iuxta LXX*, which had been rendered by "in der menig des frids" in M and Z, as "in der menige des fryden". Even Luther's 1521 version does not greatly diverge from that of Nachtigall, but from 1524 Luther uses the much less outdated expression, "ynn großem fride".

In v. 12 free dramatic rein has been made use of in the early Luther version and ON. How much more convincing is Nachtigall's version than that in M and Z. Luther's 1524 version, in a manner quite in keeping with a tendency previously noted, is tame in comparison with his earlier one.

Cases have previously been noted where Nachtigall uses tenses differently from his predecessors and from Luther. In v. 15b L1521 has "Und ihr bogen wirrt zu brechen werden" but by 1524 this had been simplified to "Und yhr bogen wird zubrechen". M and Z simply have "wird". Nachtigall, as before, uses "soll....werden".

A change of meaning takes place in Luther's rendering of v. 16 between 1521 and 1524. Like M, Z and ON, L1521 has "dem gerechten", this reflecting both *Psalmi iuxta LXX* and *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum*. But by 1524 a change of emphasis takes place in Luther's translation which has become, "Es ist besser das wenige des gerechten...". It is clear that in the intervening period Luther has turned to a new source, one similar to that on which PP is based. From 1524 Luther's version of this verse emphasises that poverty and godliness go hand in hand. Now the just must necessarily have little; there is a change in the theological content.

Verse 20 in M, Z and ON is unwieldy, reflecting the Latin Septuagint. Luther, following the Hebrew orientated tradition, produces a more flowing German rendering. As usual in Luther, between 1521 and 1524 "gottis" has become "des HERRN". The alteration in the word order of v. 20 between L1521 and L1524

¹⁸³ Heinz Bluhm, "An 'Unknown' Luther Translation of the Bible", *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 84 (1969), pp. 1537 and 1540.

does not seem felicitous. It introduces a sense of ponderous, unpoetic formality, a characteristic also marking Nachtigall's expansive rendering of this verse.

It should be noted that Nachtigall's is the only version of v. 21 to introduce "der reych" as the opposite to "der gerecht". M and Z, in line with *Psalmi iuxta LXX*'s "peccator" have "der sündler" and Luther, reflecting *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum* and PP ("impius") uses "der gotloß". Nachtigall equates the rich with the sinners. Whether this translation is accounted for by his theological convictions or his personal situation is hard to say; it is surely not based on linguistic considerations.

A difference emerges in emphasis in v. 22 between the active sense on the one hand of "die in gesegen" in M and Z and "die den herren lobend" in ON and the passive sense on the other of "seyne gebenedeyeten" / "seyne gesegneten" of L1521 and L1524. Nachtigall inaugurates a new linguistic departure from M and Z with "loben" in place of "segen".

Nachtigall's translation of v. 24b is the freest. M and Z reflect *Psalmi iuxta LXX* ("underlegt") and Luther, predictably, the Hebrew based tradition ("enthelt" (1521) / "erhelt" (1524)). Nachtigall's translation uses a different verb, "entgegenhalten", and an extra phrase is added. The words are not all strictly necessary for simple translation but they make clear the sense of the passage.

The translations of v. 25 in M and Z are antiquated and hamstrung by the Latin. The rendering in Z of "non vidi iustum derelictum" is markedly more successful than that in M. The problem of how to represent in German the Latin present participle of v. 25b of *Psalmi iuxta LXX*, however, confounded the translators of both those versions. M reproduces the whole phrase in a literal translation which thus includes a German present participle. The attempt in Z is less closely tied to the Latin but is clumsy and stretches the German language beyond its limits with "noch seinen samen säch das brot". Nachtigall contrives to lift the verse out of the Middle Ages with his fluent German rendering. His word order and tense usage represent a great step forward. Nevertheless Luther takes it a stage further and plants it firmly in modernity.

The expression "in saeculum saeculi", found in vv. 27 and 29 and in other places in the *Psalmi iuxta LXX* is rendered quaintly in M / Z by "in der werltten der werlt / in der welten der welt". Nachtigall improves this to "von welt zû welt ewigklich". This is indeed more poetic than Luther's "ymer dar", but it must be remembered that Luther was following a different original, one reflected by *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum* ("in sempiterno") and PP ("in sempiternum").

A division along confessional lines can be seen in v. 28 where M, Z and ON have "urteil" to represent "iudicium" of *Psalmi iuxta LXX*. Luther, on the other hand, uses "das recht" even in his 1521 version,

despite the fact that "iudicium" is used in the *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum* also. PP has "justitiam", indicating that this must be the meaning intended in the Hebrew text, but Luther does not need to wait until 1524 to incorporate this word into his translations. The justice of God rather than his judgement is an important element of the new Reformation doctrine, already formulated and not dependent on the acquisition of a thorough knowledge of Hebrew. In note q to his translation of this psalm Nachtigall also emphasises that God not only dispenses judgement but is just too.¹⁸⁴ It seems that he is trying to mitigate that very fear of God's judgement which troubled Luther as a monk.

The translation in M and Z of "semen impiorum" in v. 28e of *Psalmi iuxta LXX* as "der sam der unmiltten (M) / ungüttigen (Z)" deprives the verse of a theological element and replaces it with something more in keeping with the social and charitable character of medieval piety. Nachtigall's rendering of the phrase as "der somen der verachter Gottes" reinstates the theological element and thus returns the text to a closer affinity with the Latin while at the same time putting it on a more spiritual footing. Luther's translation of v. 28 is in accordance with *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum* and remains so through the later revisions. Examination of Luther's texts have suggested so far that from 1524 he is following a Hebrew text reflected in PP. This verse seems not to bear out this supposition. But reference to an English translation based on the Hebrew¹⁸⁵ indicates that at this point Luther was probably indeed following the Hebrew text and that it is PP which might be out of line.

Verse 29 shows the degree to which Nachtigall could transform the wooden versions of M and Z into contemporary German. He demonstrates a poetic sense and a mature grasp of the German future tense as well as an understanding of the Latin tense. By 1524 Luther had abandoned the future tense here in favour of a continuous present, a change in keeping with his theological conviction that man inherits God's Kingdom in the here-and-now and not at some time in the future when he has proved his worthiness.

Two demonstrations of the updating by Nachtigall of outmoded expressions are found in v. 31. He translates the Latin "lex" in 31a of *Psalmi iuxta LXX* not as "ee", a word dating back to the Old High German period and used in M and Z, but as "gesetz", a form specific to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The form used by Luther of this later medieval word is "Gesetz". Likewise 31b is transformed from the awkward offerings in M and Z into an expression of living German.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ Nachtigall here describes God as a "gerechter richter".

¹⁸⁵ Peter Levi, *Psalms* (Penguin Classics, Harmondsworth, 1976), p. 56.

¹⁸⁶ Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, IV, 1:2, cols. 4070-4074.

In v. 32, however, Nachtigall is eventually far outshone by Luther. The "merckt" of M and Z becomes "merckt auff" in ON, and L1521 and L1524 both have nothing more striking than "sihet auff" but in L1531 and L1545 this is superseded by the much more evocative "lauret auff".

Confusion arises in the reading of v. 33 in versions M and Z. It is not immediately clear to whom the pronouns refer. Nachtigall expands beyond the physical bounds of the Latin text and clarifies the meaning of the passage, once again demonstrating his willingness to deal freely with his source. Luther did not go to such lengths to avoid all confusion of pronouns in this sentence and thus, while demonstrating his ability to reproduce the pithiness of speech, his rendering of this verse lacks the careful precision of meaning evident in Nachtigall's more formal translation.

An examination of v. 39 demonstrates how the translation of a verse can develop gradually in the course of time. M reproduces *Psalmi iuxta LXX* but in a manner antiquated by the second decade of the sixteenth century, and using "Zeit", as also in v. 5 of Ps. 10, in the neuter form common in Upper Germany at the time.¹⁸⁷ Z sounds more modern in its use of conjunctions and its use of "trübsal" where M had "durchechten". Nachtigall's version introduces further sophistication in its use of conjunctions. Luther also continues the refinement, changing vocabulary and excluding superfluous words.

In the final verse of Ps. 36 (37) L1521 is the only version to emphasise a theological overtone with the use of "selig machen", a not unexpected stance in view of Luther's religious views. But by 1524 this expression has, surprisingly, been replaced by the much more neutral "helffen". Nachtigall avoids such theological dabbling and continues in the same direction as that set in M and Z, using "erhalten" where they have "behalten machen". Thus, except in a few uncertain cases, the translation groupings continue unaltered in Ps. 36 (37).

Psalm 89 (90), Kaspar Amman and Ottmar Nachtigall

In 1523, the year prior to that in which Siegmund Grimm published Ottmar Nachtigall's German Psalter, he also published a German translation of the Psalter by Kaspar Ammann (c.1450-1524).¹⁸⁸ Amman also regarded the Psalter as containing the Old and the New Covenant and being, therefore, particularly valuable for devotional purposes. So, having learned Hebrew in his old age, he produced a version which followed the words rather than the sense of the original, his aim being to enable the public at large, and not only scholars, to have access to as correct a text as a translation can allow.¹⁸⁹ Ammann, an Augustinian

¹⁸⁷ See footnote 12 above.

¹⁸⁸ Kaspar Amman, *Psalter des königlichen propheten davids geteutsch nach wahrhaffigen text der hebraischē zungē* (Augsburg, 1523), in Reinitzer, *Biblia deutsch*, p. 98.

¹⁸⁹ Heino Reinitzer, *Biblia Deutsch*, Wolfenbüttel and Hamburg, 1983, p. 98.

Eremit, sympathised from 1521 with the Reformation, was arrested because of his public support of Luther and his opposition to the old Church and taken to Augsburg.¹⁹⁰

Reinitzer's sample of Ammann's translation of Ps.89 (90) gives only the first twelve of the psalm's seventeen verses. Differences between Ammann's and Ottmar Nachtigall's translations are obvious. Ammann was a Hebraist. Nachtigall, we have discovered, was not. Ammann's version bears a close resemblance to versions known to have been made with reference to the Hebrew, such as *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum*, PP, the Luther versions and the King James version. For example, Ammann's "Du hast sie versturmt sie werdend sein ain schlaff" has its equivalent in all those versions (v. 5) but it is found neither in *Psalmi iuxta LXX* nor ON; and his "Wir habē vollbracht unsere jar als ain rōd" (v. 9) is reflected in the versions based on the Hebrew, whereas Nachtigall's version is a rendering of the *Psalmi iuxta LXX*. In v. 10 Nachtigall's version is, as expected, closer to the Latin Septuagint version, though his translation is marked by a degree of freedom. Lack of punctuation marks in the original might have contributed to the divergences; and a misreading of "corripiemur", or an error in his source, could account for his rendering of that word as "werden wir gestrafft". Divergences also manifest themselves in v. 12 according to the expected groupings.

Once again it is shown that Nachtigall's translation, despite the claims in his title that the Psalter has been "von grund / auß den .lxx. und hebreischer sprach art un̄ aygenschaftt zñ verstendigem und klarem hochdeutschē gebracht der geleychen vor nye gesehen", has in fact been very little influenced by the Hebrew.¹⁹¹ Nachtigall has been discovered, nevertheless, to have rendered the Psalter into a German more appropriate to the sixteenth century than that of M and Z and sometimes to have approached or even outshone Luther's achievements with particularly felicitous turns of phrase. It is of no surprise that his translation is more pleasing from a linguistic point of view than Ammann's. Ammann's goal was, after all, different. Yet the reader should be able to expect his German to be comprehensible and of reasonable quality. From the first verse, however, Ammann's rendering causes the reader to stumble. Clarity of meaning is sacrificed to adherence to the original external form. Awkwardly un-German elements intrude. His "in geburt und geburt" is a much less satisfactory linguistic alternative to Nachtigall's "von geschlecht zu geschlecht ewiglich". The second verse demonstrates the difficulty inherent in the word-for-word approach to translation. His use of "störckin" (v. 11) is antiquated compared with Nachtigall's "macht". The variations in the remaining verses are caused partly by the differing goals of the translators and partly by divergences in the sources. Even if divergences of meaning are ignored, the lack of flow in Ammann's translation continues to make itself felt. There are places, such as v. 4, where the text barely makes sense. One is tempted to question the validity of Ammann's undertaking. His text was not for scholars, but which category

¹⁹⁰ I have found no evidence that there was contact between Nachtigall and Ammann, though it would seem very possible as they were in the same town for a while and shared the same publisher and interest.

¹⁹¹ There is little, if any, definite evidence in the material examined, despite his claim, that Nachtigall referred to the Greek version of the Septuagint.

of reader from the general public could have been expected to persevere with a text obscured by so many difficulties?

This short comparison of the two translations of part of Ps. 89 (90) shows the two scholars in an interesting light. Nachtigall realises the importance of translating the Psalter in the light of the Hebrew original but is both unable to carry out the task and unwilling to confess his inadequacy. Ammann, on the other hand, is aware of the value of a knowledge of Hebrew to a translator of the Old Testament, and is equipped to carry out the task, and yet he produces a translation for which there is no obvious readership. Nachtigall, however, has clearly based his translation on the traditional Latin version, whereas Ammann's source is equally clearly the Hebrew tradition.

Time and again Nachtigall has been found to subscribe only theoretically to the humanist view that a return to the sources is an essential part of the translator's task. His learning is simply inadequate to the task of the translation of the Old Testament. His German Psalter is a great improvement on its predecessors when regarded simply as a translation of the Latin Septuagint. It would, no doubt, be unreasonable to expect Otmar Nachtigall to hone down his language to the degree of smoothness achieved by Luther over the years with the support of a sizeable group of assistants. After all, Nachtigall produced only one edition of the Psalter, he worked alone, and he was ignorant of Hebrew.¹⁹² It is indeed remarkable to what degree he improves on and departs from M and Z. The freedom which Nachtigall feels to depart from the text of the Latin is perhaps accounted for by his awareness that the Latin version is not the original and is thus not sacred in any way. Despite a general adherence to the accepted Latin Vulgate tradition, he does not feel bound by the words as such. He feels free to add words or phrases to clarify the meaning, thereby sometimes making the text much wordier,¹⁹³ and at times uses expressions which are startlingly colloquial, contemporary and sometimes even poetic. Despite occasional flights of linguistic inspiration, however, Nachtigall's translation is generally rather pedestrian when compared with that of Luther, whose pre-1524 versions are particularly well endowed with vivid expressions, the source of which must surely have been the language of "die mutter jhm hause, die kinder auff der gassen, den gemeinen man auff dem marckt..."¹⁹⁴

The question arises as to whether circumstances other than ignorance of Hebrew contributed to Nachtigall's relatively conservative approach to Bible translation. Possibly he found himself, because of his humanist leanings, in a position similar to that of Jerome, where his views on translation method were applicable to secular works but difficult to carry out in the special case of the Bible. Fear of the Church authorities and

¹⁹² Despite Rein's claim that he knew Hebrew in *Gesamtes Augspurgisches Evangelisches Ministerium in Bildern und Schriften, von den ersten Jahren der Reformation Lutheri, bis auf Anno 1748 oder das Jubeljahr wegen des westphälischen Friedens, samt einer Vorrede* (Augsburg, 1748).

¹⁹³ Nachtigall expresses his views on this subject in the introduction to *Die gantz Evangelisch histori* (1525).

¹⁹⁴ *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen*, WA, 30:2, p. 637, lns 19-20.

concern for Church unity perhaps motivated him rather than an overwhelming reverence for the sacred nature of the shape of the Bible text. Claims to have taken note of the original text would be necessary for the upholding of his scholarly integrity and self respect, but fears about the security of his priestly position and for his bodily safety may have encouraged him to ensure that his text itself would stand up to official scrutiny. Alternative renderings and elucidations which might be considered subversive by the authorities were relegated to the relative security of the explanatory notes but, it is only fair to point out, not glossed over. Ottmar Nachtigall's ambivalent situation as a translator, his developed sense of the relationship between the text and its translation and his incomplete linguistic knowledge are all wholly in keeping with his position within the intellectual climate of his time.

Chapter 5

Ottmar Nachtigall's theological position: the textual evidence

The comparative examination in the previous chapter of some of Ottmar Nachtigall's psalm translations leads to the conclusion that he was uncontroversial as a translator but that he was not afraid to offer alternative renderings of traditionally accepted biblical wordings within the comparative but not absolute safety of his explanatory notes. His German Psalter was published in 1524, the year in which Luther published his German translation and Faber Stapulensis a French one. In 1524-25 the Reformation lost many adherents, among the peasantry because of a sense of betrayal and among the humanists because of fear of violence. Yet contemporary polemic does not figure in Nachtigall's publication. At this time Erasmus and Luther clashed publicly over the issue of man's free will in the matter of salvation and this also does not figure directly in his work.

Like Luther, Ottmar Nachtigall regards the psalms as christocentric and from them he is able to formulate his understanding of man's salvation. His frequent reference to the Pauline epistles for substantiation of his opinions also reminds one of Luther. In note g to Ps. 1¹⁹⁵ he states comprehensively and in phrases reminiscent of Luther that,

"...die weyl das so in dem alten gesatz gebotten / vil ist / schwer und unmöglich zñ volbringen / hat uns Got ain werck fürgehalten für die all / das wir glauben an Jesum Christum seinen gesandten. Johan 6. durch welche [sic] glauben wir allain mügen rechtfertig gemacht werden.....Und bleybt darzñ nit aus / die frucht zñ seiner zeyt / dann der also gesit ist mit dem glauben / und den hailigen gayst zñ ainem lerer bey im hat / würt on zweyfel nichts anders handlen dann was zñ der eer Gottes dient.....unnd erzelt sant Paulus die frucht so von eingebung des hayligen gaysts wachsend. Galat. 5. Es ist liebe / freud / fryd / geduld. Aus dē allē volgt dz der recht glaub nit ain schlechts werck ist / das er auch nit müssig stet / sonß durch die werck bewert man den glaubē..../ als der herr spricht auß den fruchten werdend irs kennen. Matth. 7".

He seems to feel no compulsion to justify his use of "allain" in association with "glauben". He is of one mind here with Luther. He also betrays a tendency to develop views which reflect Luther's experience in the monastery at Erfurt when he writes,

"Got will es also haben dz wir am erstē erschreckē ab unseren sünden / und seinem gerechten urtayl / unnd darnach so wir kain trost mer befinden der gnaden begeren".¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ *Der Psalter des kinigs uñ propheten Davids* (1524), p. 5. [hereafter, ON].

¹⁹⁶ ON, Ps. 76, n. b, p. 191.

The final words, however, probably lay more emphasis on man's part in the salvation process than would have pleased Luther. In *Die gantz Evangelisch histori* of 1525 this is summed up at greater length as follows:

"Die forcht gottes / seynes gesatz halbē und künfftigen strengen urtayls / davon die gewyssen vast erschrecken / unnd sich gantz entristen / Der glaub in Christū Jesum / das der für die sünd gelitten hab / des halben man durch inn vergebung derselben / un̄ ewigs lebē überkomē / Die liebe dadurch ain mensch den sünden ainmal gestorben / im selbs darnach nymer lebt / sonder Christo / und seinen glydern / wañ sie schon in dieser welt veracht seind / Das Evangelium / dadurch wir getröst werdē in aller anfechtung / und bedencken was uns Got verhayssen hab / das wir des gewyß seynd / so wir nur also verharren / un̄ im umb alles das wir zñ zeytlicher underhaltung bedürffen / sambt dem ewigen leben / hertzenlich vertrauwē".

The passage then concludes with a warning note which explains,

"Das alles hat die notturft erfordert mit fleyß zñ beschreyben um etlicher rohen Christē willen / deren man sich billich erbarmen soll / die auß dysen obgemelten vier stuckē nur die nemen die inen gefallen / un̄ suß seind / das ist den glauben / und das Evangeli / mit solichē worten / Ich darff nichts thun dann glauben / so würd ich selig / Das ander aber was sauer ist / unnd nit leycht zñ thūn / als den alten Adam tödten / lassen sie steen".¹⁹⁷

Whether or not this parody of Christianity is a direct attack on adherents to the Lutheran cause, as has usually been claimed by biographers, Nachtigall is certainly calling for absolute commitment to the gospel teaching.

Though fear of God is the first step, Nachtigall also reminds his reader in note b to Psalm 76 that,

"Got ist der die zerknirschtē hertzen gesund macht".¹⁹⁸

Succinctly note i to Ps. 2 reads,

"Das ist die suñ Christenlichs lebens / erschrecken ab dem urtayl gottes / und sich doch erfrewen seiner genädigen zäsag".¹⁹⁹

While man must recognise his sinfulness, he must also realise that he is powerless to rectify the situation in his own strength for he must

"alle sâligkayt in sein erlösung und nit in unsere gûtten werck setzen...".²⁰⁰

What is more, God's mercy is "on all bezalung"²⁰¹ and "auß genaden".²⁰²

¹⁹⁷ *Die gantz Evangelisch histori* (1525), p. 448.

¹⁹⁸ ON, Ps. 76, n. b, p. 191.

¹⁹⁹ ON, Ps. 2, n. i, p. 9.

²⁰⁰ ON, Ps. 37, Inhalt, p. 93.

²⁰¹ ON, Ps. 101, note m, p. 258.

²⁰² ON, Ps. 102, note a, p. 261.

Of his own accord man can do no good, so he cannot bridge the gulf between himself and God. There are so many ways by which man can delude himself that he can become holy. Not only are "good works" only possible as a result of faith but, furthermore, "works" outside the framework of faith are dangerous, "die weyl alles was nit in dem glauben beschicht warlich sünd ist / wie ayn gütten schein es von außen hat. Roma. 14".²⁰³ The correct order is faith followed by works; man can do no good works without the guidance of the Holy Spirit; his works are of no significance in the process of justification. Man is entirely in God's hands and,

"Darumb (i.e. by God's mercy) wird uns geholffen / und nit um andrer werck willen die hermach volgē..."²⁰⁴

Reminiscent of Luther's view of the imputed righteousness of God is Nachtigall's conviction that,

"Durch die warhayt gottes würt uns geholffen / seyner zûsag halben / die er uns gewißlich würt laystē / darzû auch mit seyner gerechtigkayt die uns zû tayl würt durch den glaubē.

Roma. 3. Dañ mit unser aygnen gerechtigkayt möchten wir gar wenig schaffen".²⁰⁵

Though Nachtigall repeatedly insists that faith justifies, in note 1e to Ps. 118 he writes with apparent inconsistency that,

"Es seind die gebot gottes dardurch der mensch rechtfertig würt / so er anders durch dē glauben vor ist geraynigt worden".²⁰⁶

Here he seems to be suggesting that faith has a pre-justification cleansing effect which opens the way for justifying obedience to the law. This is the statement on which Schröder bases his argument that Nachtigall remained orthodoxically Roman Catholic.²⁰⁷ Whatever the significance of and reason for this comment, the majority of references to faith and justification suggest that Nachtigall's thinking on the matter followed along similar lines to Luther's, though there is no reason to suppose that it was not entirely independently motivated. The apparent inconsistency was perhaps simply the result of the diversity of opinions still prevailing in the Roman church at this time. As noted frequently throughout this study, the impression that Nachtigall's views on justification coincide with Luther's may be illusory. If, as Schröder claims,²⁰⁸ he equates "rechtfertigender Glaube" with "Gottvertrauen", then he presumably lacked the specific emphasis on the significance of the Cross which is the hallmark of Luther's thought. It is indeed significant that, even where Nachtigall speaks of Christ, he uses such phrases as "in dē glauben Christi.../ durch den wir zû ewigem leben kommen",²⁰⁹ and that in the introduction to *Die gantz Evangelisch histori*, despite its emphasis on need for a Christ-centred life, there is likewise no teaching about the specific significance of Christ's death on the Cross. Possibly this lack of emphasis indicates that his religious convictions, while

²⁰³ ON, Ps. 35, note h, p. 87.

²⁰⁴ ON, Ps. 6, note d, p. 17.

²⁰⁵ ON, Ps. 142, note a, p. 369.

²⁰⁶ ON, p. 320.

²⁰⁷ Schröder, pp. 88-89. Schröder also comments, p. 90, "Ueber den Reinigungsprozess spricht sich Nachtigall ausführlicher nur an einer Stelle aus, die schon Döllinger hervorhebt." This is in *Die gantz Evangelisch histori* of 1525.

²⁰⁸ Schröder, p. 89.

²⁰⁹ ON, Ps. 102, note b, p. 261.

centred on Christ and freed of the encumbrance of works performed for their own sake, were set in a more Erasmian mould than would have satisfied Luther.

As Luther had been freed of the fear of death and the hereafter by his newly found conviction that by grace he was justified through faith, so Nachtigall is found writing that in old age there is

"..kayn ander trost daß der / so wir in dē glauben Christi haben / durch den wir zñ ewigem leben kommen / das macht uns wider jung und frölich / also das wir dē tod nymer fürchten / so er uns kayn schaden / sonder unaußsprechlichen nutz bringt".²¹⁰

If faith brings such comfort with its conviction of eternal life, what remaining significance can the sacraments, and in particular the last rites, have in Nachtigall's view of the Church?

For Nachtigall the Scriptures, and the New Testament in particular, contain "die verhaissüg unsers hails"²¹¹ and man must be "durch das Evangeli bekert"²¹². Man must be instructed to this understanding,

"Daß wie wolt man got singen den man nit erkenet / darumb hat die predig vor müssen geen",²¹³

for,

"Die süßen wasser des hayligen gaystes Johan 7 haben sich hören lassen mit der predig des worts gottes".²¹⁴

Yet,

"Die krafft des gayst muß bey den worten seyn / sonst ist es vergebens wz man predigt".²¹⁵

Repetition and empty rhetoric are valueless. But, if redemption is to be found in the reading or hearing of the Gospels, why is not everyone saved who reads or hears? The answer is found in the explanation of Ps. 118 where Nachtigall states,

"On dē lernaister schaffen wir nichts in 8 geschrift gotes daß der bûchstab ist allzeit nur ain bûchstab",²¹⁶

and also explains that the essence of the Christian's relationship with God

"ist nit in dem bûchstaben / sonder im gaist. Darumb alles lesen / und betrachtung umb sonst ist / und ain torhait vor got / wa der gaist nit von iñen leret".²¹⁷

These comments might be understood as a criticism of arid Scholasticism, of the ritualistic use of the Bible in services, of Luther's emphasis on the central position of the Bible, seen by his adversaries as based

²¹⁰ ON, Ps. 102, note b, p. 261.

²¹¹ ON, Ps. 139, note b, p. 364.

²¹² ON, Ps. 64, note g, p. 166.

²¹³ ON, Ps. 67, note u, p. 166.

²¹⁴ ON, Ps. 92, note c, p. 238.

²¹⁵ ON, Ps. 67, note G, p. 167.

²¹⁶ ON, Ps. 118, note 22a, p. 328.

²¹⁷ ON, Ps. 118, note 13a, p. 325.

egotistically on his own powers of reasoning, or even of those who advocated unsupervised reading of the Bible by the common man. At any rate, Nachtigall requires the Bible to be approached under the guidance of the Holy Spirit and not as a mechanical exercise. The letter of Scripture is empty on its own. This would seem to link in with Luther's view that philological study of the Bible, while of value as a base on which theologians can then build, is of no intrinsic spiritual value.²¹⁸ Luther's assessment of the relative merits of Augustine, whom he regarded as divinely inspired though linguistically ignorant, and of the linguistically gifted but spiritually uninspired Jerome, placed Augustine above Jerome as a Bible translator. The Schoolmen were rejected on similar grounds.²¹⁹ This view of scripture would seem to be reflected in Nachtigall's comment,

"Johan 7. Sprachen die Juden wa her es dem herren kem das er gelert wer / so er doch nit gen schül wer gangen / dabey zñ mercken das die recht kunst nit in der geschrift ist / sonder in dem gayst / und der krafft gottes / wie der Prophet hie spricht er well die groß macht gottes und sein gerechtigkayt dadurch er die sunder in dem glauben rechtfertigt / loben / uñ die geschrift stehen lassen".²²⁰

Indeed such comments which emphasise the significance of the Spirit may have been the cause of Kretz's suspicion that Nachtigall had toyed with Lutheran, and even Anabaptist, ideas.

Nachtigall's comments on the Psalms urge the reader to a personal relationship with God, a recognition of his or her own sinfulness and a realisation that salvation can be obtained only through Christ and not by barter or payment in works. But the personal relationship with God does not give the individual the right to an exclusive relationship which would damage others. Luther had insisted,²²¹ and Hans Sachs later repeated,²²² as Paul had taught before them,²²³ that nothing must be done by the more firm believers which might shake the faith of weaker brethren. Likewise Nachtigall, in a comment which betrays a certain dogged defiance which is similarly demonstrated in the way he continued to preach to the Catholic faithful in Augsburg, says of the preacher of the Gospel,

"Da ist kain fliehen / daß es zimbt sich nit dz der prediger des Evangeli darvon fliehe / damit er seinen worten kain unglaubē mache".²²⁴

This humble and unquestioning acceptance of evil circumstances surely reflects that trend which expressed itself in the Roman Catholic church in a search for spiritual commitment and reform rather than political and spiritual superiority. It is of course possible that the emphasis on repentance, faith, prayer, suffering and

²¹⁸ Luther, *Das Magnificat vortdeutschet und außgelegt*, 1521, in WA, 7 (1897), p. 546, lns 24-29.

²¹⁹ Luther, *Resolutiones Lutherianae super propositionibus suis Lipsiae disputatis*, 1519, in WA, II (1884), p. 414.

²²⁰ ON, Ps. 70, note h, p. 175.

²²¹ Luther, "Vorrede auf die Epistel S. Pauli an die Römer", *Das Neue Testament*, 1522, WA *Deutsche Bibel*, 7 (1931), p. 24, lns 26-34.

²²² Hans Sachs, *Ain gespräch eins Evangelischen christen / mit einem lutherischen / darin der Ergerlich wandel etlicher / die sich Lutherisch nennen / angezeigt / uñ brüderlich gestrafft wird*, 1524, in *Hans Sachs Werke*, edited by A. v. Keller and E. Goetze (Hildesheim, 1964), 22, p. 70, lns 28-35.

²²³ Romans, 14.

²²⁴ ON, Ps. 141, note b, p. 368.

an open and direct relationship with God might also be, at least partially, a reflection of and reaction to Nachtigall's resignation to his unfortunate personal circumstances.

Like Luther, and in harmony with contemporary opinion, Nachtigall believes that,

"Volker / land und leut gehörend got zû / der ist rechter herr / ûn nit die ungestümen / ungerechten fürsten...",

and that,

"Die weltlich oberkayt hat iren gewalt von got / Rom. 13. und seynd an gottes stat gesetzt / dz sie die gerechtigkayt hanthaben".²²⁵

Unfortunately,

"Es stet fast übel so die oberkayt / die andern güt exempeln geben solt / an ir selbs kayn nutz ist / ûn fallent offentlich von 8 gerechtigkait / dz yeßman ir bößhayt sehen muß / das hayst sündler angesicht genomen / so die sünd nit verborgen kan seyn / Jederman sights".²²⁶

Despite Nachtigall's pious hope,

"Das sollen wir von Got begeren / das die gewaltigen auff diser erd das evangeli annemen damit seyn glori weyt gelobt wird",²²⁷

he also finds it necessary to warn the rulers

"des strengen gericht's Gottes / der inen hie trölich ist / dem sie daß nit mügen entgeen".²²⁸

Without mincing his words he reminds them,

"Ir seind statt halter gottes ewers vatters / des werck ir an euch nemmen soltend / unnd im nachschlachen / daß ir im ewigklich lebend / die weil ir aber des teufels kinder seyt dem ir nachfolgt Johan. 8. sterbt ir dahynn des ewigen todts / unnd wie die fürsten / so hye großen bracht treiben / und gählingen umb ir leben und alles das sie haben komend / also würt es auch euch ergeen".²²⁹

Whereas Luther was inclined to work in co-operation with the secular rulers and to use them to further his aims to develop a state church, Nachtigall sees the rulers as essentially wicked. However, like Luther, he advocates no active opposition. God will punish them just as he has given them their power.²³⁰ No doubt he believed that he saw the process starting and that the punishment could not be far away in those apocalyptic times. Indeed an indication that Nachtigall, like the majority of his contemporaries, did see signs of impending cataclysm is found in his comment that,

²²⁵ ON, Ps. 81, note a, p. 209.

²²⁶ ON, Ps. 81, note b, p. 210.

²²⁷ ON, Ps. 137, note c, p. 359.

²²⁸ ON, Ps. 81, Inhalt, p. 208.

²²⁹ ON, Ps. 81, note f, p. 210.

²³⁰ ON, Ps. 81, Inhalt, p. 209.

"...wie wol die gewaltigen vil gûts auff erdtreich besitzē / beschicht doch solichs nit mit rûw / daß sie müssen yetz besorgen das man ins mit recht oder gewalt abnem̃ / yetz das ain auffrûr oder ander unfall dareinnkom̃ / wie man täglich sicht / das auch fürstenthumb uñ kinigrich zergeend / so die ausserwelten gottes ir gût mit rûwen besitzen werden / und ewigen fryden".²³¹

The explanatory notes to Ottmar Nachtigall's German Psalter would seem to betray him as a Christian of evangelical convictions and with concerns and beliefs which coincide to a large extent with those of Luther and, in certain spheres such as the expectation of the imminent dawning of the last day, with many of his contemporaries. For all that, this does not brand him as an Evangelical or a Lutheran.

One significant difficulty met with in this consideration of whether Ottmar Nachtigall might be considered to any degree a Lutheran is that it has not been possible to ascertain precisely what he understood by "faith". The introduction to *Die gantz Evangelisch histori* of 1525, a work in which he might well be expected to have clarified his convictions regarding the central significance of the Gospel teaching, hints that Nachtigall viewed faith, at least on occasions, not in the Lutheran sense of faith in the justifying nature of Christ's death, but in the more Erasmian sense of faith in Christ as the purveyor of forgiveness to those who follow his moral example, and that he regarded Paul's life as the ultimate manifestation of such a relationship with Christ. In the course of that introduction it is indeed stated that Christ "...für uns gestorbē ist", but this aspect of Salvation is not developed to include the significance of the Cross. This apparent uncertainty about the nature of the Salvation offered to man by Christ might well account for seeming contradictions in the Psalm glosses.

The evidence in the commentaries on the German Psalter, combined with his declaration in 1521 that he was unacquainted with Luther's recent publications²³² and his description in 1522 of the religious upheavals as the "nocentissima horum temporum pestis"²³³ present Ottmar Nachtigall as a man of independently attained, Gospel-based personal convictions which coincide in many details with those of Luther but in no way make him a Lutheran.

²³¹ ON, Ps. 36, n. i, p. 92.

²³² "Monendus mihi benigne Lutherus ab illis videretur, qui & clare docere possent, & obsecrare ad Pauli formulam, in omni patientia, si modo vera sunt, quae vulgi rumor hic sparsit, Lutherum seditiosa scripsisse, non enim vacavit mihi ut recens iam ab illo edita excuterem", "Epistola noncupatoria" (1521).

²³³ Dedication to Bishop of Brixen of *Plutarchi Chaeronaei* (1522).

Chapter 6

Ottmar Nachtigall's theological position: the biographical evidence

The whiff of suspicion concerning Ottmar Nachtigall's religious orthodoxy has lingered for four-and-a-half centuries. His Roman Catholic colleague in Augsburg, cathedral preacher Mathias Kretz, remarked in a letter to Erasmus on Feb. 22nd 1531 that,

"Ottomarus Luscinius, ex lutheranismo, imo anabaptismo, ad ecclesiam reversus urbe tandem pulsus est".²³⁴

In 1554 Nachtigall's name appeared on the Index of prohibited books²³⁵ as did Erasmus's in 1559. The strength of suspicion was such that some nineteenth-century biographers felt the need to reclaim him as staunchly, even violently, pro-Catholic and Schmidt's biographical study, which presents him as unwilling to take an energetic stand for either side, has been regarded by more partisan biographers as something of a slur on his character.²³⁶ Studies written in the earlier years of this century take a more impartial, academic view of Ottmar Nachtigall's theological and religious standpoint, though entries in some encyclopaedias still smack of partisanship.²³⁷ Yet still the question remains unanswered. Did Ottmar Nachtigall harbour Lutheran sympathies?

Nachtigall was certainly not the first or only Northern European humanist to lay himself open to suspicions of heresy. The cases of Reuchlin who, as a result of his Hebrew studies and his highlighting of errors in the Septuagint and the Latin Vulgate Bible, had found himself at odds with the might of the Dominicans in the theological faculty of Cologne University, and Faber Stapulensis who had found it necessary to avail himself of the protection of the King of France against the theologians of Paris while persevering with his French translations of the New Testament (1523) and the Psalter (1524), demonstrate clearly the risk involved in applying humanist principles to the study of the Bible. Erasmus, who had difficulty reconciling his liberal attitude to need for reform in the Church with his conservative conviction of the necessity for a united Christendom, came to be regarded with suspicion by both sides.²³⁸ Such men adhered to that basic tenet of humanism, subscribed to also by Ottmar Nachtigall,²³⁹ that a philological understanding of the Bible is essential to an understanding of its spiritual significance. Yet these great scholars, the older humanists who laid the groundwork for the Reformation, had no wish to split the Universal Church and remained conservatively loyal to the old faith. They sought intellectual, not spiritual, freedom. Reuchlin and Erasmus

²³⁴ EE, IX (1938), no. 2430, 22 February 1531, ins 25-26.

²³⁵ F. Reusch, *Indices librorum prohibitorum des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 1886), p. 165.

²³⁶ A. Schröder, p. 95.

²³⁷ *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 6 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1961), col. 1221, announces that Nachtigall "verteidigte entschieden die Kath. Lehre gg die Neuerer..."

²³⁸ L. Spitz, *Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), p. 230.

²³⁹ Foreword to *Die gantz Evangelisch histori* (1525).

did not regard themselves as theologians. They provided a service to the Church, a fund of knowledge which was inevitably, however, made use of by those later disaffected sons of the Church, the Reformers. Ottmar and Luther were both part of that line of development which regarded the Scriptures as open to translation in the same way as other ancient texts. Luther's achievement as a translator was quantitatively and, no doubt, qualitatively, the greater, but Nachtigall nevertheless contributed with his publications to the disintegration of the unquestioning respect previously paid to the officially recognised versions of Holy Scripture. This does not mean, however, that he espoused the spiritual freedom of the Lutheran camp like Melancthon and other younger, more radical humanists.

The direction of Nachtigall's sympathies are difficult to discern because humanists as a group tended at first to identify themselves with Luther's cause, thus making a proper differentiation difficult. They applauded Luther for his opposition to scholasticism, his condemnation of superstition and bigotry, his demand for moral and educational reform and his call for a more biblically based religion. The Church, on the other hand, came to regard with suspicion the linguistic and philological service offered by the humanists, and subscribers to humanism came to be confused with the more radical and disruptive of their colleagues and categorised as "Lutherans". This may well be what initially happened in the case of Ottmar Nachtigall. He certainly, in the 1520s at least, subscribed to ideas which coincided with certain of Luther's theories and this perhaps sowed the seeds of suspicion and ill-will in the minds of his Catholic colleagues, despite his claim in 1521 to have no first-hand knowledge of Luther's publications²⁴⁰ and the lack of evidence that he ever met Luther. Though he was no doubt touching on potentially explosive ground with his christocentric views, the general abuses within the Church on which Nachtigall expressed himself were mainly those from which he suffered personal inconvenience, that is courtesanship²⁴¹ and clerical ignorance.²⁴² Ottmar Nachtigall's indignation was, therefore, of a largely literary and scholarly rather than a strictly religious nature and heavily tinged with personal interest. On no account does his call for clerical reform betray him as a Lutheran.

Naturally the humanists, particularly in the days before the factions hardened into separate camps, corresponded with each other and sympathies were aroused and admirations formed. Even after it became clear that Luther was not aiming simply at internal reform of clerical abuses, some conservative scholars, including Nachtigall, still spoke admiringly of certain aspects of his ideas.²⁴³ Erasmus and Luther did not suddenly cease to correspond and mutual condemnation did not arise on all points even after the breach between them. Nachtigall and Ulrich von Hutten remained similarly in contact for a certain length of time,

²⁴⁰ "Epistola noncupatoria" (1521). It seems less than credible that Nachtigall would not be acquainted with the contents of Luther's *Trostbrief an die Christen zu Augsburg* of 1523.

²⁴¹ See chap. 1, note 19.

²⁴² "Epistola noncupatoria". In the group of scholars maligned by the Church for their knowledge he included Luther, with Reuchlin, Erasmus and Wimpfeling.

²⁴³ "Martinum postremo Lutherum virum quod et aemuli illius ingenue fatentur, optimum, et quod planè constat cordatum et eloquentem, adeo concitavit ad amuramentum, ut solitae modestiae iam non meninerit", "Epistola noncupatoria".

though Nachtigall's unkind epigram on Hutten's death²⁴⁴ indicates that their relationship had deteriorated in the intervening undocumented period. Nachtigall's contacts with and references to men of radical tendencies are thus also no indication of heretical leanings.

With Luther and with the humanists Ottmar Nachtigall took a common stand against scholastic excess. His publication in 1519 of Remigius of Auxerre's commentary on St. Paul, thought at that time to be the work of Bishop Haimo of Halberstadt,²⁴⁵ demonstrates this attitude. Schröder emphasises that Nachtigall found it proper to publish this lengthy commentary by a Schoolman,²⁴⁶ but Schmidt points out that it contains references to the Church Fathers, is not overloaded with scholastic discussion and, moreover, in the dedication to his friend, Sixt Hermann, curate of St. Thomas in Strasbourg, Nachtigall indicates that he placed the study of Scripture and the older authorities above scholastic refinement and excess.²⁴⁷ The commentaries in his German translation of the Psalter are a witness to his personal rejection of the scholastic method for he quotes parallel verses of Scripture and not passages from more recently established authorities. He and Luther can here be seen to have common concerns which lead them away from the traditionally accepted theological study patterns, though Luther would certainly have warned against placing the Fathers on the same footing as the Scriptures.

The evidence thus far examined indicates no more than that Nachtigall was a humanist of the old school. Further doubt about his religious views was probably unintentionally generated at a later date in the minds of people ignorant of its contents by the title of a book published in Augsburg in 1748, in which Nachtigall's ministry and character are briefly examined, *Das gesamte Augspurgische Evangelische Ministerium*. This book also contains his picture.²⁴⁸ Any reader looking beyond the title page is informed in the introduction that, despite the title, not all the early preachers were Lutheran but were included for reasons of convenience. Indeed, the article on Johannes Vögelin warns that several, including Ottmar Nachtigall,

"...sind keine eigentliche und von Rath beruffene Evangelische, vielmehr aber Römisch=Catholische Prediger allhier gewesen; sondern nur in manchen Nachrichten darunter gezehlet worden, weil sie einige Evangelische Wahrheiten in ihren Predigten haben mit einfließen lassen".

Despite the element of confusion which they might have helped to spread in the minds of contemporaries who drew inferences from inadequately examined material, there was no doubt in Rein's mind in the eighteenth century that Nachtigall was indeed a Roman Catholic. The article on Ottmar Nachtigall in Rein's

²⁴⁴ Schmidt, p. 194.

²⁴⁵ Schmidt, p. 184.

²⁴⁶ Schröder, p. 99.

²⁴⁷ Schmidt, p. 184-185.

²⁴⁸ Niemöller, p. 54, suggests that the original, dated 1524 and bearing the initials GS, was probably by Georg Lemberger.

book describes the way that he,

"nach seinem beständigen hitzigen Naturell in den Predigten sehr heftig auf die Evangelischen loß gezogen / und der Rath dabey einen Aufstand besorgte...".

This is the violent spirit depicted by Roth at the end of the next century. Nevertheless, Rein also gives glimpses of a man with biblically based convictions for we read,

"Ob nun schon dieser Nachtigall von der Römisch=Catholischen Kirche niemahlen abgetreten / so hat er doch in Schrifften manche schöne Zeugnisse von Evangelischen Wahrheiten / sonderlich von der Seeligkeit durch die Erlösung Christi aus dem Glauben und nicht aus den Wercken / hinterlassen / welche forderst zu finden in seinem aus der Grund=Sprache in das Lateinische und Teutsche übersetzten Psalmen Davids / der allhier Anno 1524. ausgegangen / und darinnen er an der in der Catholischen Kirche gältigen Versione Vulgata vieles ausgesetzt....Ist schon von Alters nur deßwegen unter die Evangelische Prediger gesetzt worden / weil er die Evangelische Wahrheit zum Theil erkannt und davon öffentlich gezeuget".

Rein convincingly portrays Nachtigall as a faithful son of the Church with evangelical, not Evangelical, convictions. At this point the dispute could quite well have been laid to rest.

During the nineteenth century, however, the controversy was continued by authors eager to win points in the confessional arguments of the period. Their evidence must therefore be viewed circumspectly.

Döllinger makes the uncontroversial statement that Ottmar Nachtigall "theilte Wimpheling's [sic] kirchliche Treue".²⁴⁹ He also confirms his opposition to some ecclesiastical abuses²⁵⁰ and demonstrates from the "Epistola noncupatoria" to Johann von Botzheim²⁵¹ an early sympathy with Luther and his cause.²⁵² By 1524 Nachtigall is, in Döllinger's view, warning in Ps. 1, note g, p. 4 of the dangers of evangelical freedom and the envy, greed and hate which the preachers of the new system consciously incite. He lists the four points which Nachtigall regarded as necessary to the process of justification, "die Furcht Gottes, den Glauben an Christus, die Liebe mit der Verläugnung der Sünde und das Evangelium".²⁵³ He also highlights Nachtigall's condemnation in *Die gantz Evangelisch histori* of those who choose to emphasise faith and Gospel to the exclusion of more uncomfortable manifestations of faith such as subjugation of the Old Adam. While this caricature of partially executed evangelical theory, the antinomianism of which Luther was often accused, describes a religious life style to which many succumbed and was directed, no doubt, at certain elements at least of the "reforming" parties, it cannot be taken as proving that Nachtigall was opposed by 1524 to all aspects of Luther's proposed changes. Indeed, Döllinger contrives to make clear in his

²⁴⁹ Döllinger, p. 601. This work has an anti-Lutheran bias.

²⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 602.

²⁵¹ Döllinger calls Botzheim Heinrich.

²⁵² Döllinger, p. 602.

²⁵³ *ibid.* p. 603.

energetically pro-Catholic book that he was in favour of a genuinely evangelical approach to Christianity. His evidence seems to demonstrate that Nachtigall was a man with views in common with Luther, though not a Lutheran, and opposed to the travesty of religion masquerading in some quarters as Lutheranism.

Ch. Schmidt, devotes a long chapter in his literary history of Alsace to Ottmar Nachtigall and regards him as sympathetic to some of Luther's aims in the early stages but not prepared to go to lengths which would cause a rift in the Church. He points out that in Nachtigall's theological works, even those published in the turbulent early 1520s, statements on controversial issues are avoided. The German Psalter, Schmidt feels, could be read by Roman Catholic and Protestant alike.²⁵⁴ In 1522, in the letter dedicating *Plutarchi chaeronensis aliquot commentarii* to the Bishop of Brixen, Nachtigall expressed fear of the universal chaos which would ensue if Papal supremacy were suppressed.²⁵⁵ Ottmar bases the need for such a supremacy, not on conciliar or ecclesiastical statements, but rather refers to Homer and Demosthenes.²⁵⁶ Schmidt suggests that, while it would be too much to accuse Nachtigall of religious scepticism, there was a degree of indifference about him. He views him as essentially a Greek scholar whose naturally gentle and spiritual nature was encouraged by his studies.²⁵⁷ The religion he had learned was of a scholastic nature and repugnant to him. He rejected its arid discussions and wished to confine himself to the Bible and its commentators, with the added wisdom of the classical poets and philosophers. The Reformation controversies, Schmidt suggests, were to Ottmar Nachtigall no more than scholastic squabbles from which he abstained except on a single occasion when he made a statement under pressure.²⁵⁸

Here again Nachtigall is depicted as sympathetic with the spirit of the age in his disapproval of certain abuses and his advocacy of a return to the textual sources, even scriptural ones. But he certainly does not appear as a Lutheran. Schmidt describes his piety as "sincère mais craintive" and suggests that, though he was driven along by circumstances, he would have preferred to remain a spectator of the events unfolding around him.²⁵⁹ His departure for Augsburg from Strasbourg at a time when the Reformation was taking a firm hold in the latter town is seen by Schmidt as an attempt to avoid controversy and to confine himself to his studies.²⁶⁰ He also notes that, although Nachtigall was sent by the Bishop of Constance as his delegate to the Colloquy of Baden in 1526, he took no active part in it²⁶¹ and that his citation before the Augsburg Council in 1528 was the consequence of a step taken under duress for which he later excused himself.²⁶² An enthusiast, Schmidt believes, would have gone further, writing pamphlets against the reformers and delivering inflammatory sermons, evidence of which would have found its way into the city

²⁵⁴ Schmidt, p. 198.

²⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 193.

²⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p. 207.

²⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p. 206.

²⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 207.

²⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p. 207.

²⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 193.

²⁶¹ *ibid.*, p. 199.

²⁶² *ibid.*, p. 201.

annals.²⁶³ Nachtigall left Augsburg at the first opportunity for Freiburg where he could be Roman Catholic without being controversial and where his theological works came to an end and, despite some assumptions to the contrary, there is no indication that he took up again the musical interests of his younger days.²⁶⁴ His connection with the Carthusians of Freiburg and his request for incorporation into the prayer fraternity of the order indicate that he died a Catholic in the medieval tradition. So why did Kretz refer to his return from the Lutheran, even Anabaptist, fold?²⁶⁵ Schmidt suggests that his moderation and indifference to doctrinal controversy so amazed his more passionate colleagues that they ascribed to him heretical tendencies.²⁶⁶

Schmidt shows Nachtigall as neither a crypto-Lutheran nor an active promoter of the Catholic cause. Rather he appears as a somewhat retiring man who had no wish to take sides, was concerned to confirm Catholics in their faith, but did not realise that a public figure cannot remain neutral and who failed to grasp the gravity of contemporary controversies.

The short biographical note published on Ottmar Nachtigall by K. Hartfelder throws no light on his attitude to Lutheranism. However, the author makes the apposite comment that,

"In seiner theologischen Richtung war der geistvolle und kenntnisreiche Gelehrte ein Anhänger des Erasmus".²⁶⁷

He also confirms the connection with the Freiburg Carthusians at the end of his life. These sparse pointers help to fill out the picture of a man who was neither a pulpit-bashing Lutheran nor an entrenched supporter of the Roman Catholic Church in all its traditional manifestations. The very fact that Hartfelder describes him as an Erasmian suggests a degree of ambivalence in Nachtigall's attitude.

Roth represents Nachtigall, in that part of his Augsburg period when he was preacher at St. Moritz, as "der bedeutendste Vorkämpfer des Katholizismus in Augsburg".²⁶⁸ He is, however, depicted as having been at the same time a humanist who opposed monastic abuses and empty scholastic learning and looked forward eagerly to the appearance of Erasmus's Greek version of the New Testament. Roth suggests that Luther must at first have struck a responsive chord in Ottmar Nachtigall for he seemed,

"wenigstens eine Zeitlang, dem "neuen" theologischen Hauptsatze von dem Seligwerden durch den Glauben allein und der Lehre vom *status lapsae* zugestimmt zu haben und es gab eine Zeit, in der er seinen Bekannten als "lutherisch" galt. Doch selbst, wenn diese Sätze tiefer bei ihm Wurzel geschlagen hätten, als dies thatsächlich der Fall war, würden

²⁶³ Schmidt, p. 201.

²⁶⁴ Niemöller, p. 57.

²⁶⁵ See note 1. above.

²⁶⁶ Schmidt, p. 200.

²⁶⁷ Hartfelder, p. 168.

²⁶⁸ Roth, p. 306.

sie ihn seiner ganzen Art nach niemals vermocht haben, von der Kirche abzufallen. Dazu war er zu sehr Erasmianer".

By 1525, Roth feels, Ottmar Nachtigall must have been regarded as reliably Catholic or the Fuggers would not have presented him to the preachership of St. Moritz in June of that year. He also argues that he would much rather have occupied himself with his humanist studies and literary projects than with theological battles in which he lacked a deep enough interest and, probably, also the necessary academic background. But, with his acceptance of the preachership, he was irrevocably committed.²⁶⁹

The scenario imagined by Roth of Nachtigall throwing himself willy-nilly into the fray is not entirely convincing, but Roth does at least show that he could refer to the Mass as "das größte Werk, das ein Christenmensch thun kann"²⁷⁰ and in the later 1520s he found himself at odds with the Augsburg City Council for preaching Catholic sermons. Roth offers as evidence that he was fully aware of his potentially threatening position, and prepared to defend it, the public pronouncement made from the pulpit, of which he was accused before the Council on 9 July 1526,

"Thut man nicht darzu, so werden wir einander selbst zu tot schlagen, und ich hab mein Messerlein an mich gehenckt".²⁷¹

Whether or not, as Roth suggests,²⁷² he preached deliberately provocative sermons out of devotion to the Fuggers and then set out to effect his dismissal from the town, Nachtigall was able eventually to move to Catholic Freiburg im Breisgau. Though Roth's attempts to paint him as aggressively Catholic from 1525 to 1528 are possibly exaggerated, they do demonstrate that he was not generally regarded as a Lutheran.

A. Schröder examines Ottmar Nachtigall's theological stance in most detail and from a clearly Catholic standpoint. He draws attention to his apparently troubled relationship with the Chapter of St. Moritz and attributes it to jealousy on the part of the Chapter of this interloping protégé of the Fuggers. Unable to attack him legally because the Fuggers had acquired the patronage of the preachership of St. Moritz from Pope Leo X in 1518, the Chapter contrived to make his life difficult.²⁷³ Evidence of this negative attitude is their demanding of a certificate of legitimacy from him. While legitimacy of birth was indeed a condition of acceptance into the Chapter, it would appear that official proof was not demanded of other clerics, there being no similar certificates in the archives of St. Moritz, which Schröder describes as well preserved in 1897. Further suspicion is cast, in Schröder's view, on the motives of the Chapter by the fact that the certificate is dated 19 June 1526, a whole year after his actual entry into the Chapter. Another incident cited by Schröder as indicative of the Chapter's ill-disposition towards Nachtigall is their wish to suspend his income when he was delegated by the Bishop of Constance to attend the Colloquy of Baden in May 1526.

²⁶⁹ Roth, p. 131.

²⁷⁰ Roth, p. 307.

²⁷¹ See Schröder, p. 100, note 3. Dreizehner Ratsprotok. z. 19 Juli 1526, Stadt Augsburg.

²⁷² Roth, p. 306.

²⁷³ For the following, see Schröder, p. 87.

They would have been within their legal rights in so doing as Nachtigall was planning to infringe the residency agreement for his first year of office. The Pope's dispensation was, however, granted on 9 May, shortly before the Colloquy took place. Presumably Ottmar Nachtigall, so clearly unpopular with many of his colleagues, would have been at the mercy of rumour and innuendo and the biographical details provided by Schröder would seem to indicate the most likely contributory factors to the growth of doubt concerning his orthodoxy.

Roth reports,

"Schröder faßt (S. 94) das Resultat seiner Untersuchung über die Stellung zur Reformation in die Worte zusammen: "Daß Luscinius, objektiv betrachtet, der Neuerung nur in geringem Maße sich näherte, daß er subjektiv gewillt war, in der alten Kirche zu bleiben",²⁷⁴

and, while feeling that Schröder's view is probably correct, suggests that he does not give enough weight to the influence of the Reformation on Nachtigall up to 1524 and even reduces it on sectarian grounds. Schröder concedes²⁷⁵ that Nachtigall was indeed influenced by Lutheran views in that, with the exception of his note 1e to Ps. 118 on page 320, he regards faith as trust in God rather than in anything man can do, and Schröder attributes this to a psychological tendency to trust God in all situations in life, a tendency springing from the early influence of Geiler von Kaisersberg and deepened by the unfavourable circumstances of Nachtigall's life. He agrees that hardly any proposition recurs so often in his theological works as that of the need for this complete trust in God and continues,

"Es ist darumb leicht verständlich, daß er, in Abweichung vom katholischen Standpunkte, den Glauben auch da, wo er als rechtfertigender Glaube auftritt, im Sinne von Gottvertrauen faßt".

What Schröder, like some of Nachtigall's contemporaries, seems not to have grasped is that this basic trust in God could not make anyone a follower of Luther if, as would seem to have been the case with Nachtigall, the important element of the Cross is missing.

Ottmar Nachtigall's view of the relationship between faith and works is regarded by Schröder as very individual and, measured by Catholic standards, as separating too greatly the two stages of Justification, "Reinigung" and "Heiligung"; yet Schröder is still able to regard it as essentially covered by the Catholic view. Much of his argument is based on Nachtigall's less faith-only orientated comment on Ps. 118, already referred to in Chap. 5 and also mentioned above, which states that,

"Es seind die gebot gottes dardurch der mensch rechtfertig würt / so er anders durch dē glauben vor ist geraynigt worden".²⁷⁶

²⁷⁴ Roth, p. 147, note 84.

²⁷⁵ For the following see Schröder, p. 89.

²⁷⁶ ON, Ps. 118, note 1e, p. 320.

Schröder argues that the above statement is covered by the two stages of Justification, "Iustificatio Prima" and "Iustificatio Secunda". He can thus claim²⁷⁷ that it is under the auspices of the "sogen. iustificatio prima, der Erwerbung der noch nicht vorhandenen Heiligungsgnade" that Nachtigall can write,

"...dz wir got nit weyt suchē müssen / wie die gleichßner mit iren wercken. Er wirt durch
den glauben bald gefunden / Wie Paulus leret. Rom. 10",²⁷⁸

and under that of the "iustificatio secunda, die Vermehrung der Heiligungsgrade" [sic! -gnade?] that he is teaching the orthodox Catholic view of the need for works carried out in a previously acquired state of faith and grace. Thus, reasoning on the basis of the theory of the two stages of justification, Schröder sweeps those of Ottmar Nachtigall's statements which have an evangelical ring to them firmly back into the Catholic compartment.

He points out like other biographers that, to whatever degree Nachtigall's views on Justification may have seemed to coincide with Luther's, he was clearly regarded as a Catholic by the majority of his contemporaries. He lodged with the Benedictines of St. Ulrich, a firmly Catholic community; he was patronised by the Catholic Fugger family; he represented the Bishop of Constance at the Colloquy of Baden; he edited Eck's book on the Mass; and he became the Cathedral preacher in Freiburg.²⁷⁹ To these we might add the facts that the Emperor wished him to remain as Catholic preacher in Augsburg and that he was invited in 1532 by Pfalzgraf Wilhelm IV. of Bavaria to fulfill the same duty in Munich.²⁸⁰ Yet Schröder's representations of his dealings with the City Council of Augsburg show how unjustified is the assessment of Nachtigall's character as that of a fanatical upholder of Catholicism. Nevertheless he was a thorn in the Council's flesh.²⁸¹ Schröder sees him as a Catholic preacher who never allowed himself to be drawn into any verbal or physical action which would give the Council grounds to dispose of him. They had been able to banish other preachers, mainly of the reforming party; of Nachtigall they could not free themselves and he preached in Augsburg for more than three years.²⁸² Like the Chapter, they had to content themselves with making his life difficult.

However firm a Catholic he believes Nachtigall to have been, Schröder also regards him as remarkably tolerant for the age,²⁸³ abjuring violence against enemies of the Truth and lifting his hands to God as Moses did in Exodus 17.²⁸⁴ Schröder fails to indicate that these are only the characteristics of the age in which Ottmar Nachtigall felt most at home, an age which was giving way to a more violent one. He was

²⁷⁷ Schröder, p. 89, note 5.

²⁷⁸ ON, Ps. 118, note 19c, p. 327.

²⁷⁹ Schröder, pp. 94-95.

²⁸⁰ Rest, p. 51.

²⁸¹ Schröder, p. 103, note 4.

²⁸² *ibid.*, p. 104.

²⁸³ *ibid.*, p. 99.

²⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p. 99, note 4, refers the reader to *Psalter*, Ps. 97, note f, p. 249.

the product of the non-partisan humanist society and of the surprisingly liberal and many-faceted Church which still existed immediately before the Reformation.

Schröder sums Nachtigall up as a humanist with inadequate theological study whose interests were in fields other than that of theological dispute. His ideal was the quiet study of antiquity and avoidance of what seemed to him irrelevant scholastic squabbles.²⁸⁵

Still no picture of Ottmar Nachtigall as a Lutheran emerges. Despite the energy expended by Schröder in reducing the significance of his leanings towards the theory of justification by faith alone, he does demonstrate that it was a very significant part of Nachtigall's spiritual make-up, though he also shows that little else concerned him which might lead to his being labelled as a religious dissident. Like so many of his fellow humanists, he remained with his enquiring mind within the Catholic church. It was his misfortune to live in troubled times. A quiet professor's chair would have suited him better than a preachership in a centre of religious upheaval.

It remains to be considered whether the two recorded public pronouncements made by Nachtigall on the controversies being contested around him throw light on his theological leanings. They were both made during the course of his unhappy dealings with the Augsburg City Council and have been noted in Chap. 1. He was accused before the Council on 19 July 1526 of having said in a sermon,

"Thue man nicht darzu, so werden wir einander selbst zu tot schlagen und ich habe mein Messerlein an mich gehenkt".²⁸⁶

This comment sounds inflammatory but may well have signified no more than his awareness of impending strife and his metaphorical preparedness. Certainly it was followed by no further reported abrasive comment until the statement reported at second hand in 1528, two years later. Having, on 7 September of that year, been put under effective house arrest by the Council, which felt itself economically and politically hard pressed by its Catholic neighbours as well as the Emperor, in a sermon delivered on 8 September he lumped Lutherans and Anabaptists together as heretics.²⁸⁷ He later excused himself on the grounds that he was simply confirming Catholics in their faith, complying with the Edict of Worms and carrying out the Emperor's particular instructions and he pointed out that he was the last person to wish to court trouble as he would be the first to suffer as a result. He also declared his willingness to cease preaching, a statement of which the Council found it expedient to take no heed. Schröder suggests that, having been treated so unworthily on 7 September, Nachtigall was attempting to precipitate his departure from the town by preaching controversially on the 8th.²⁸⁸ Of further interest is Nachtigall's declaration that it was his dearest wish not to have to call the Lutherans and Anabaptists heretics but that he could teach no other since the

²⁸⁵ Schröder, p. 104.

²⁸⁶ See footnote 38 above.

²⁸⁷ Roth, p. 325, note 88.

²⁸⁸ Schröder, p. 102.

Bible and the mandate of Emperor Charles required it of him.²⁸⁹ It is surely significant that his regular sermons during this unsettled period of Augsburg's spiritual history must have been so uncontroversial as to be unworthy of comment in the Council annals.²⁹⁰ The events of 1528 show him in an uncontroversial light. He honestly but unenthusiastically believed the Lutherans and Anabaptists to deserve the title of heretics but dearly wished to escape from Augsburg to the Catholic atmosphere of Freiburg and so to avoid the uncomfortable necessity of making such accusations or of justifying them before a largely unsympathetic Council with more worldly preoccupations. Certainly his eagerness to be thought "kein Weltmann"²⁹¹ seems to have placed him at a disadvantage in these dealings.

Apart from the general suspicions concerning humanists harboured in ecclesiastical circles, the personal animosity of Catholic colleagues and the misleading title of Rein's book, the most probable source of the suspicions concerning his orthodoxy was the theological studies in which he was engaged between 1523 and 1525, and which resulted in Latin and German versions of the Psalter and Latin and German gospel harmonies, books in the explanatory notes of which Nachtigall makes frequent reference to the theory of justification by faith alone.

All in all, despite his obvious concern with this theory and his emphasis on the personal aspect of man's relationship with God, there is no evidence that Ottmar Nachtigall was ever a Lutheran, either openly or secretly. It would seem more appropriate to think of him as both an Erasmian scholar²⁹² and a Catholic priest with some evangelical convictions, who for a short period was clearly interested in certain elements of Luther's work, all of which characteristics would make him susceptible to attack from more traditionally orientated colleagues.

²⁸⁹ Schröder, pp. 101-103.

²⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 85, note 3. His study is based on evidence from the Augsburg Archives, the Ordinariatsarchiv, the Fürstlich Fuggersches Archiv and the Stadtarchiv.

²⁹¹ *Die gantz Evangelisch histori* (1525).

²⁹² Erasmus also, as the result of his early connection with the Brethren of the Common Life, had an interest in the more spiritual manifestations of Christianity.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

This study of an apparently obscure figure of the early sixteenth century somewhat unexpectedly reveals a man of considerable significance, at one and the same time thoroughly imbued with the spirit of his time and yet in certain aspects ahead of the thought forms which characterised that spirit. His contacts and activities were thoroughly in keeping with the older German humanism of his day and he moved in the foremost literary circles. He was well travelled and studied at several European universities where he came under the influence of scholars of note. As a priest and humanist he functioned, particularly in Strasbourg and Augsburg, in centres of literary activity and religious upheaval. His interest in the study of the Greek language and literature and his awareness of the importance of a knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek languages to a Bible translator set him apart from many of his contemporaries, while his contribution to the provision of Greek grammars and texts for the German market marks him as a significant innovator in the sphere of the study of the classical Greek pagan authors. The long established suspicion then prevalent in the Roman Church that unrestricted study of Greek would somehow lead to the opening of the flood gates to heresy and schism seem not to have deterred him from these studies, particularly of Lucian, as a means of casting light on the Greek language used in the New Testament and thus on the meaning of the words expressed in that medium. His unhesitating, almost ingenuous, references to pagan classical authors, Plato, Theophrastus and Democritus, within the context of the dedication of his German Psalter to Anton and Raimund Fugger would seem to mark him out as a man who had so entirely absorbed the classical Greek culture that it permeated all his thought and writing, even in the field of theology. This being the case, the aura of radical free thinking inherent in Nachtigall's work may well have been a characteristic of which he was entirely oblivious.

Despite his contribution to Greek studies in the Germany of his day, Ottmar Nachtigall was a theorist when it came to the translation of Hebrew of which, despite misleading claims made in the dedication of his German Psalter, he admitted elsewhere that he was ignorant. He criticised the Vulgate version of the Psalter, but for the alternative rendering which he offered as an improvement he was unable to refer to any Hebrew texts and, though he claimed in the letter dedicating the *Plectra et scrupi* to Johann Choler to have taken account of the Hebrew-based Latin text of the Psalter made by Felix of Prato, there is no evidence in the psalm texts considered in this study that he considered such Latin texts, not even the readily available *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum* of Jerome. Thus, despite Schmidt's conclusion concerning Nachtigall's German Psalter that,

"La traduction est pure, élégante, presque aussi harmonieuse que le texte original: sans celle de Luther, qui est de la même année, ce serait la meilleure de la première moitié du seizième siècle",²⁹³

its textual character is of no greater authority than that of the version it was offered as an improvement on. The German in which it is presented is, however, a considerable improvement on that of such predecessors as the Mentel Bible and the Zainer Psalter edition. Nachtigall's German Psalter demonstrates both a facility in the German language and an awareness of the poetic content and form of the Psalms. His German Gospel Harmony presents a somewhat different set of considerations as Nachtigall was proficient in Greek. Though this text was not examined in any detail, it became obvious from the translator's discussion of his rendering of some central and controversial New Testament passages and expression that, while unwilling to engage in polemic, he was prepared to stand by those of his renderings which diverged from the traditional formulations and on occasions bore striking similarities with those of Erasmus or Luther. Of particular significance is Nachtigall's willingness to throw off the reverence for the precise wording of the sacred text which so commonly hampered his contemporaries in their approach to Scripture translation, consequently giving rise to textual obscurities which veiled the meaning of those meticulously preserved words.

Nachtigall's German Psalter is insignificant when considered as a contribution to the reinstatement of the Hebrew text of the Bible as ultimate source of reference. The Psalter is, however, accompanied by an extensive set of exegetical notes to every psalm. Within these notes are found statements which contribute to a rather less conservative evaluation of Nachtigall's theological stance and which indicate that he was a man of evangelical views which in certain aspects coincided with those of Luther but whose understanding of Christian theology lacked the emphasis on the atoning significance of Christ's death on the Cross, the central feature of Luther's understanding of it.²⁹⁴

In many respects Nachtigall can be compared with Erasmus, and his Erasmian tendencies must surely have been encouraged by the Bishop of Augsburg of that time, Christoph von Stadion (1478-1543), himself an Erasmian. Nachtigall had many interests in common with Erasmus, including opposition to clerical corruption, the study of classical Greek literature and a concern with the credibility of the accepted forms of the Latin Bible. As was the case with Erasmus, Nachtigall's studies implied dissatisfaction with the traditionally revered versions of the Bible and, indeed, he went so far as to express this dissatisfaction in the introductions to his German Gospel harmony and to his German translation of the Psalter. Like Erasmus, however, and Jerome before him, he believed that it was essential to preserve the unity of the Universal Church and this may well account for the apparent ambivalence in Nachtigall's approach to Bible translation. As Erasmus expressed a concern that all people, including the uneducated, should have access to the Scriptures but in fact made no attempt to provide the vernacular versions which would facilitate that access,

²⁹³ Schmidt, p. 198.

²⁹⁴ Luther, "Nachwort zum Psalter", 1525 and 1531, in *WA Deutsche Bibel* 10:1, p. 590, ln. 26, "Aber daneben sihestu auch das creutz schier ynn allen psalmen,....".

so similarly Ottmar Nachtigall expressed reservations concerning the old translations but generally failed to carry through his criticism into the text of his translation. His more radical comments are reserved for the introduction, dedication or notes. Thus, like Erasmus, he mitigates the sharpness of his attack. Like Erasmus, Nachtigall demonstrated an ambivalent attitude to the Church and clergy and, like Erasmus, he fell foul of some of his Catholic colleagues. As the result of their shared critical interest in the text of the Vulgate, they both found themselves on the papal index of prohibited books, Ottmar in 1554 and Erasmus in 1559. Though his humanist studies led him into criticism of poor Bible translation, the fact that he confined himself to translation of Gospels and Psalter indicates that Nachtigall had no radical leanings and was part of a long established tradition.

Nachtigall appears as a man entirely attuned to the ambience of early German humanism and, despite the unease with which he viewed the state of the Church and the unreliability of its Bible text, unwilling to come to terms with the more violent times, the "nocentissima horum temporum pestis",²⁹⁵ which succeeded with the appearance of the younger generation of humanists and the Reformation. He entertained independently attained, Gospel-based personal convictions which coincide in many details with those of Luther but in no way make him a Lutheran. His declared ignorance in 1521 of Luther's recent publications²⁹⁶ adds weight to Schmidt's suggestion that to a great extent he lacked interest in the theological controversies of the times, regarding them as no more than further examples of the scholastic squabbles which he had come to eschew.

The considerable reputation which Nachtigall enjoyed as a literary figure and any resultant pride in himself as a linguist seem not to have had the detrimental effect on the character of his functions as a priest which it might have had. He himself was eager that he should be remembered as "kein Weltmensch"²⁹⁷ so he would, no doubt, have been gratified that one of his biographers should describe him as follows:

"Als Mensch und Gelehrter erscheint uns Luscinius als eine sehr sympathische Persönlichkeit, feinfühlig, geistreich, mit dem umfassendsten Wissen ausgestattet, dabei bescheiden, friedliebend und kindlich fromm, stets bereit die Andern durch sein musikalisches Können zu ergötzen".²⁹⁸

This is a worthy epitaph for a man whose personal religious convictions and linguistic ability combined to put him in a position of potential danger from the papal authorities but who, timid and disinclined to engage in public dispute though he perhaps was, did not withhold his insights from those who might benefit from them. The suspicions regarding his commitment to the Universal Church were, despite his awareness of the need for reform, ungrounded and based on jealousy, misunderstanding and ideological short-sightedness. It was his misfortune to live in "interesting times".

²⁹⁵ Dedication to Bishop of Brixen of *Plutarchi chaeronaei* (1522).

²⁹⁶ "Epistola noncupatoria" (1521), "Monendus mihi benigne Lutherus ab illis videretur, qui & clare docere possent, & obsecrare ad Pauli formulam, in omni patientia, si modo vera sunt, quae vulgi rumor hic sparsit, Lutherum seditiosa scripsiße, non enim vacavit mihi ut recens iam ab illo edita excuterem."

²⁹⁷ *Die gantz Evangelisch histori* (1525).

²⁹⁸ Voegelis, p. 192.

Appendix 1

Description of the St Andrews University Library copy of Ottmar Nachtigall's German Psalter of 1524

Title (in architectural frame): Der Psalter des kinigs vñ || propheten Davids / ain sū= || mari vnd kurtzer begryff aller hayli= || gen geschrift durch Oumaren Nacht || gallen Doctorem / von grund / auß den .lxx || vnd hebreischer sprach art vñ aygenschaft || zñ verstendigem vnd klarem hochteutsche || gebracht / der geleychen vor nye gesehen / || sambt ayns yeden psalmen kurtzen inhalt || vñ begryff / Mit erklerung der schwe || rern örter / vnd puncten wie man || die verstōn sol. Vñ wie sie || den menschē zñ ainem || Christenlichen le= || bē weysen / got || zñ lob vñ || eer || [roman:]M[italic:]it [roman:]K[italic:]aiserlichem privilegio vnd freyhait auff sechs iar. ||

Colophon (p. 383): Gedruckt zñ Augspurg / durch Simprecht Ruffen || Got zñ lob vnnd eer. In kosten vnd verlegung || Doctor Sigmunds Grym / Jm Augst || mond. Anno ec [roman:] xxiii [=1524]

On p. 384 Hercules in ornamental frame, with two Latin, one Greek and one Hebrew motto, and date: [gothic:] M. D XX [roman:]IIII

The book has a contemporary binding of pigskin on board. Traces of leather clasps remain on the back board. On the paper lining of both front and back board there is contemporary handwriting.

Collation: 4° A⁴ [= preliminaries, including index] A⁴-Z⁴a⁴-z⁴-Aa⁴-Bb⁴ [=pp. 1-384] = 390 pp.

Contents:	A1 ^r	Title page
	A1 ^v	Blank
	A2 ^r -3 ^r	Preface
	A3 ^v -A4 ^v	Alphabetical index of the Latin incipits of the Psalms
	A1 ^r -Bb ^{4r}	Text of Psalms 1-150 in German translation, with commentary, each psalm being preceded by a summary of the contents and followed by explanatory notes.

Locations: London British Library: 1013. b. 15
 London British Library: 1220. g. 15
 St Andrews University Library: Bib Bs1425.G3B24
 Wolfenbüttel Herzog August Bibliothek: Bibel-S. 543

The St Andrews copy differs from the others in that the final letter e of the word *Christenlichen* is present. In the other copies the e is missing and there are signs of a gap, indicating that the letter became dislodged during printing. This suggests that the St Andrews Psalter may well be the earliest copy.²⁹⁹

References: VD16 [= *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1983ff.]: B 3278; H. Reinitzer, *Biblia deutsch* (Wolfenbüttel and Hamburg, 1983), p. 99f., no. 63.

²⁹⁹ I am indebted for this insight to Dr. John Flood.

Appendix 2

Psalm texts discussed in chapter 4

ON

Der zehend psalm nach den hebreischen /
der doch nit überschriben ist / dabey zu
merckē das er zā dem vorigen gehōrt /...

O Herr warumb bist du ferr hindan
gewichen? achtest unser nit / in nōtten und
manigerlay trūbsal. Wañ Ḥ verachter gottes
stoltz wird so wūrdt der arm entzündet / sye
werdend ergryffen in iren anschlegen deren
sie zā rat werden. Dann der sūnder wūrdt
gelobt in aller begyrd seiner seelen / und
der verachter Gottes für ander gebreyßt. Der
sūnder hat den herren erzūmt / und der
menig nach seiner boßhayt wūrt er nichts
damach fragen. Er hat Got nit vor augen /
seine weg werden allzeyt verunraynt. Deyne
gericht werdend auffgehebt von seinem
angesicht / er wūrt über alle seine feind
herrschen. Dañ er hat in seinem hertzen
geredt / ich wūrd nymer mer entsetzt / von
welt zā welt wirt mir kayn übel zuhanden
geen / Sein mund ist vol der verflūchung /
bitterkayt / und argem list / under seiner
zungen ist mēe und arbayt. Er sitzt haimlich
in der halt bey den reychen / das er den
unschuldigen tōdte. Seyne augen seind
gericht auff den armē / er ist im haymlich
auffsätzig wie ain leo in seiner hōle. Er helt
auff den armen das er in zucke / das er den
armen ergreyff / so er ynn umbzeucht. Mit
seinem strick wūrdt er in nidren / er wūrt
sich niederlassen und fallen so er über die
armen herschet. Dann er hat in seinem
hertzen gesprochen / got hats vergessen / er
hat sein angesicht abgewendet also dz ers
nymer sicht. Stand auff o herr mein Got
dein hand soll erhöcht werden / das du der
armen nit gar vergessest. Waruñ hat der
verachter gottes got erzūmet? dann er hat in
seinem hertzen geredt / Got wūrt es nit
rechtfertigen. Du sichst es aber die weyl du
sölcher arbayt uñ unwillens warnimbst /
also das du in dir selbs in die hend gibst.
Der arm ist dir allain verlassen / dem
waysen hast du allain geholffen. Zerknisch
den arm des sūnders und boshafftigē / sein
sünd soll gesūcht werden / und niendert
gesundē. Der herr wūrt ewigklich regieren /
und von welt zā welt / ir hayden werdend
vergeen auß seinē land. Die begyrd der
armen hastu gehōrt o herr / die beratung
ires hertzen hat dein or gemercket. Da mit du
urtaylest dē waysen uñ erniderten / also das
mensch nit fürfar und sich auff dem ctreich
überhebe.

M

O herr warumb hastu dich gescheyden
verre: das du verschmechest in den
zimlichen dingen im durrechten. So der
unmilt hoch fert so wirt angezündt der arm:
sy werdent begriffen in den retten in den sy
gedachten. Wann der sūnder wirt gelobet in
den begirden seiner sel: und der ungenge
wirt gesegent. Der sūnder der erbittet den
herm: er sūcht nit nach der menig seins
zorns. Got der ist nit in seiner bescheude:
seine weg die seint entseubert in ein
ieglichen zeyt. Dein urteyl werden
abgenommen von seim antlūtz: er wirt
herrschen aller seiner veind. Wann er sprach
in seim hertzen: ich werde nit bewegt von
geschlecht in geschlechte on ubel. Des
munde ist vol flūchs und bitterkeit und
triegkeit: under seiner zungen arbeit und
schmerz. Er sitzt in den lagen mit den
reychen in verborgen: das er erschlah den
unschedlichen. Sein augen die schawent an
den armen: er laget in verborgen als der lew
in seim hol. Er lagt das er zuckt den armen:
zezucken den armen so er in zā im zeucht.
Er gedemütigt in in seim strick: er neygt
sich und vellet so er wirt herschent den
armen. Wann er sprach in seim hertzen got
der hat vergessen: er abkeret sein antlūtz
das er icht sehe an das end. O herr got stee
auf und dein hand werd erhöcht: nit vergiñ
der armen. Umb was hat der ungeng
gereyzt got: wann er sprach in seim hertzen
er sūchte nitt. Wann du sichst die arbeyt
und merckst den schmerzen: das du sy
antwortst in dein hend. Dir ist gelassen der
arm: du wirst ein helffer der waisen.
Zerknisch den arm des sūnders und des
ubeln: sein sūnde wirt gesūcht und wirt nit
funden. Der herr reichsent ewigklich und in
den werlten der werlt: und ir leut verderbt
von seim land. Derr herr hat erhört die
begerung der armen: dein or hōrt die
fürbereytung ires hertzen. Zeurteylen dem
weysen und dem demütigen: das der
mensch fürbas nit zālege sich zemichlichen
auf der erde.

Z

O herr waruñ hast du dich gescheiden verre
du verschmehest in nottufftigē dingen in
der trūbsal. Wañ der ungütig hohfart übet.
so wirdt angezündt der arm. sie werden
begriffen in den retten in den sie
gedencken. Wañ der sūnder wirt gelobet in
den begirden seiner sele. unnd der
ungerecht gesegent. Der sūnder erbittet dem
herren. uñ sūcht nit nach der manig seins
zorns. Got ist nit in seinē angesiht seine
weg sein vernailiget in einer yegklichē zeit.
Dein urteil werden abgenommen von seinem
antlitz. er wirt herrschen aller seiner veinde.
Wann er sprach in seinem hertzen. ich wird
nit bewegt von geschlecht in geschlecht on
übel. Des munde ist vol flūchs und
bitterkeit unnd trieglichkeit. under seiner
zungē die arbeit unnd schmerz. Er sitzt
in den heimlichen neiden mit den reichē in
verborgen dingen. das er erschlah den
unschuldigen. Seine augen schawen in den
armen er an veinder [sic] in verborgenheit
als der leo in seiner hōle. Er tregt heimlich
veindschafft dar er zucke den armen.
zezucken den armen so er in zā im zeucht?
Er demütiget in in seinem strick er neiget
sich und vellet so er wirt herschē der armē
Wann er sprach in seinem hertzen got hat
vergessē er abkeret sein antlitz. das er nit
sehe in das ende. O herre got stee auff unnd
dein hand werd erhöht. nit vergiñ der
armen. Umb was hat der ungütig gereyzt
got. wañ er sprach in seinem hertzen. er
wirt nit suchen Wann du sihst die arbeyt.
unnd merckest den schmerzen. das du sie
antwortst in dein hend Dir ist gelassen der
arm. du wirst ein helffer Ḥ waysen.
Zerknische dē arm des sūnders unnd des
boßhafftigen. sein sūnde wirt gesūchet und
wirt nit funden. Der herre wird regieren
ewigklich in den werlten der welt. ir werdet
verderben die vōlcker von seiner erde. Der
herre hat erhört die begerung der armen.
dein or hōrt die fürbereytung ires hertzen.
Zeurteilen dem weysen und dem demütigen.
das der mensch fürbas nit zālege sich zā
großmechtigen auff der erde.

Psalm 9b (10)

Luther 1522

1 Herre, warumb wirstu szo ferne abtreten
und dich vorpergen zu den zeyten der
widerwertikeit?
2 Der gotlosz wirt hoffertig sein und
vorprennen die armen: sie fallen auf yhren
mutwillen, was sie nur erdencken.
3 Denn der gotlosze lobet, was da ist nach
lust seyner seelen, und der geitzige
benedeyet und lestert got.
4 Der gotlosze fur seynem auffgeblaszen
tzom fragt noch niemants: auch got ist
nichts fur eyttel seynem mutwillen.
5 Seyn thun engstet sich altzeyt nach der
hohe. Dein gericht ist von seynem
angesicht.
Er red frey keck gegen alle seyne
widerwertigen.
6 Er spricht in seynem hertzen: Ich werde
nicht wancken, ich werde on ubel seyn fur
und fur.
7 Seyn maul ist vol fluchens, triegensz und
geytzes, unter seyner tzung ist muhe und
erbeyt.
8 Ehr sitz auff der lawre der vorhofe,
ynwendig todtet er die unschuldigen, seyn
augen sehen heymlich auff den armen
hauffen.
9 Er lauret vorgehen wie ein lewe in
seynem loch,
er lauret, das er den armen erhasche.
Er derhascht den armen, so er yhn zeucht in
sein netze.
10 Und er tzubricht und tzukrummet
und tzufellet den armen hauffen mit seyner
gewalt.
11 Er spricht in seynem hertzen: Got hat
yhr vorgessen und vorgehen seyn
angesicht, er sihet sie nicht mehr an fur und
fur.
12 Stand auff, herr got, erhebe deyne hand,
vorgisz nicht der armen.
13 Wie lange sol der gotlosze got lestern,
das ehr spricht in seynem hertzen: Du
fragist nichts damach?
14 Du sihest sie jah an: denn dw bists, der
beyde, die erbeyt und das wueten, sihet, das
es in deyne hende geben werde, und der
arm hauff wirts dyr lassen, der du bist der
weyszen helffer.
15 Zubrich den arm des gotlosen und
suche den boszhaffigen, szo wirstu seyn
ungotlich weszen nymer finden.
16 Der herr ist eyne konig ymer und
ewiglich.
Yhr, heyden, werdet umbkomen aus
seynem land.
17 Das begirde der armen hastu, herre,
erhoret:
du wirst yhr hertz bereyten, unnd deyn ore
wirt auffmercken.
18 Auff das du dem weyszen und dem
armen seyne sach richtest,
Das sich hynfort nicht mehr eyne mensch
gefurchtet mache auff erden.

Luther 1524

1 HERR warumb trittestu so ferne,
verbirgest dich zur zeyt der not.
2 Wenn der gottlose uberhand krieget, mus
sich leyden der arme, Sie treyben yhren
mutwillen wie sie es funemen.
3 Denn der gottlose rhumet sich wie es
yhm gelust, und der geitzige segenet sich
und lestert den HERRN.
4 Der gottlose, weyl seyn zom fort gehet,
fraget er nach niemand, alle seyne
anschlege sind on Gott.
5 Er treybt seyn thun ymmerdar, Deyne
gericht sind hoch von yhm, er handelt
trotzig mit seynen feynden.
6 Er spricht inn seynem hertzen, ich werde
nymer mehr umbgestossen werden, Es wird
nicht not haben.
7 Seyn mund ist voll fluchens, lists und
trugs, unter seyner zungen ist muhe und
erbeyt.
8 Er sitz auff der laur ynn den hofften, er
erwurget die unschuldigen heymlich, Seyne
augen haben acht auff den armen hauffen.
9 Er lauret ym verborgen, wie eyne lew ynn
der hule, Er lauret das er den elenden
erhasche, und erhasche yhn wenn er yhn
ynn seyn netze zeucht.
10 Er zuschlehet und krumpt und fellet den
armen hauffen mit seyner gewalt.
11 Er spricht ynn seynem hertzen, Gott
hatts vergessen, Er hat seyn andlitz
verborgen, Er sihets nicht mehr.
12 Stehe auff HERR Gott, erhebe deyne
hand, vergiss der elenden nicht.
13 Warumb soll der gottlose Gott lestern,
und sprechen ynn seynem hertzen, Du
fragest nicht damach?
14 Du sihest ia, Denn du schawest das
elend und iamer, das dirs ynn die hend
geben werde, Der arme hauffe wirts dyr
heym stellen, Du bist der waysen helffer.
15 Zubrich den arm des gottlosen, und
suche den boszen, so wird man seyn gottilos
wesen nymer finden.
16 Der HERR ist konig ymer und ewiglich,
yhr heyden werdet aus seynem land
umbkomen.
17 Das verlangen der elenden horestu
HERR, yhr hertz wird sich richten, das
deyn ore drauff mercke.
18 Das du recht schaffest dem waysen und
armen, Das der mensch nicht mehr freuel
sey auff erden.

Luther 1531

1 HERR, warumb trittestu so ferne?
verbirgest dich zur zeit der not?
2 So lange der Gottilose uberhand hat, mus
der elende leiden, Sie hengen sich
aneinander und erdencken böse tück.
3 Denn der Gottilose rhümet sich seines
mutwillens, und der geitzige segenet sich
und lestert den HERRN.
4 Der Gottilose ist so stoltz und zornig, das
er nach niemand fraget, Inn allen seinen
tücken hellet er Gott fur nichts.
5 Er feret fort mit seinem thun imerdar,
Deine gericht sind ferne von im, er handelt
trotzig mit allen seinen feinden.
6 Er spricht inn seinem hertzen, ich werde
nimer mehr damidder ligen, Es wird fur und
fur kein not haben.
7 Sein mund ist vol fluchens, falsches und
trugs, Seine zunge richt mühe und erbeit an.
8 Er sitz und lauret inn den höfen, er
erwürgt die unschuldigen heimlich, Seine
augen halten auff die armen.
9 Er lauret im verborgen, wie ein lew inn
der hölle, Er lauret das er den elenden
erhasche, und erhaschet in, wenn er in inn
sein netze zeucht.
10 Er zuschlehet und druckt nider und
stösst zu boden den armen, mit gewalt.
11 Er spricht inn seinem hertzen, Gott hats
vergessen, Er hat sein andlitz verborgen, Er
wirds nimer mehr sehen.
12 Stehe auff HERR Gott, erhebe dein
hand, vergiss der elenden nicht.
13 Warumb sol der Gottilose Gott lestern
und inn seinem hertzen sprechen, Du fragest
nicht damach?
14 Du sihest ia, Denn du schawest das
elend und iamer, Es stehet inn deinen
henden, die armen befelhens dir, Du bist
der waisen helffer.
15 Zubrich den arm des Gottilosen, und
suche das böse, so wird man sein Gottilos
wesen nimer finden.
16 Der HERR ist König imer und ewiglich,
die Heiden müssen aus seinem lande
umbkommen.
17 Das verlangen der elenden hörestu
HERRE, ir hertz ist gewis, das dein ohre
drauff mercket.
18 Das du recht schaffest dem waisen und
armen, Das der mensch nicht mehr trotze
auff erden.

Luther 1545

Main divergence from L1531 lies in the
spelling. Otherwise:

v. 2 "uberhand krieget" (1524) > "uberhand
hat" (1531) > "übermut treibet" (1545).
v. 12 "vergiss der elenden nicht" (1524 &
1531) > "vergiss des Elenden nicht" (1545).

Psalm 9b (10)

Psalmi iuxta LXX

Ps. 9, Diapsalma.

22(1) ut quid Domine recessisti longe
dispicis in oportunitatibus in tribulatione
23(2) dum superbit impius incenditur
pauper
conprehenduntur in consiliis quibus cogitant
24(3) quoniam laudatur peccator in
desideriis animae suae
et iniquus benedicitur
25(4) exacerbat Dominum peccator
secundum multitudinem irae suae non
quaerit
26(5) non est Deus in conspectu eius
inquinatae sunt viae illius in omni tempore
auferuntur iudicia tua a facie eius omnium
inimicorum suorum dominabitur
27(6) dixit enim in corde suo
non movebor a generatione in generationem
sine malo
28(7) cuius maledictione os plenum est et
amaritudine et dolo
sub lingua eius labor et dolor
29(8) sedet in insidiis cum divitibus
in occultis ut interficiat innocentem
30(9) oculi eius in pauperem respiciunt
insidiatur in abscondito quasi leo in
spelunca sua
insidiatur ut rapiat pauperem
rapere pauperem dum adtrahit eum
31(10) in laqueo suo humiliabit eum
inclinabit se et cadet cum dominatus fuerit
pauperem
32(11) dixit enim in corde suo oblitus est
Deus
avertit faciem suam ne videat in finem
33(12) exsurge Domine Deus exaltetur
manus tua
ne obliviscaris pauperum
34(13) propter quid irritavit impius Deum
dixit enim in corde suo non requirit
35(14) vides quoniam tu laborem et
dolorem consideras
ut tradas eos in manus tuas
tibi derelictus est pauper
orfano tu eras adiutor
36(15) contere brachium peccatoris et
maligni
quaeretur peccatum illius et non invenietur
37(16) Dominus regnabit in aeternum et in
saeculum saeculi:
peribitis gentes de terra illius
38(17) desiderium pauperum exaudivit
Dominus
praeparationem cordis eorum audivit auris
tua
38(18) iudicare pupillo et humili
ut non adponat ultra magnificare se homo
super terram

Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum

Ps. 9 Semper

22(1) quare Domine stas a longe dispici in
temporibus angustiae
23(2) in superbia impii ardet pauper
capiantur in sceleribus quae cogitaverunt
24(3) quia laudavit impius desiderium
animae suae
et avarus adplaudens sibi 25(4)
blasphemavit Dominum
impious secundum altitudinem furoris sui
non requirit
26(5) nec est Deus in omnibus
cogitationibus eius
parturiunt viae eius in omni tempore
longe sunt iudicia tua a facie eius
omnes inimicos suos dispicit
27(6) loquitur in corde suo non movebor
in generatione et generatione ero sine malo
28(7) maledictione os eius plenum est et
dolis et avaritia
sub lingua eius dolor et iniquitas
29(8) sedet insidians iuxta vestibula in
absconditis ut interficiat innocentem
30(9) oculi eius robustos tuos
circumspiciunt
insidiatur in abscondito quasi leo in cubili
insidiatur ut rapiat pauperem
rapiet pauperem cum adtraxerit eum ad rete
suum
31(10) et confractum subiciet
et inruet viribus suis valenter
32(11) dixit in corde suo oblitus est Deus
abscondit faciem suam non respiciet in
perpetuum
33(12) surge Domine Deus leva manum
tuam
noli oblivisci pauperum
34(13) quare blasphemavit impius Deum
dicens in corde suo quod non requirat
35(14) vides quia tu laborem et furorem
respicis ut detur in manu tua
tibi relinquuntur fortes tui
pupillo tu es factus adiutor
36(15) contere brachium impii et maligni
quaeres impietatem eius et non invenies
37(16) Dominus rex saeculi et aeternitatis
perierunt gentes de terra eius
38(17) desiderium pauperum audit Dominus
praeparasti ut cor eorum audiat auris tua
39(18) ut iudices pupillum et oppressum
et nequaquam ultra superbiat homo de terra

PP 1947

(10)

1 Quare, Domine, distas procul,
abscondis te temporibus angustiae,
2 Dum superbit impius, vexatur miser,
capitur dolis quos ille confinxit?
3 Nam peccator gloriatur de cupidine sua,
et rapax blasphemavit, Dominum spernit.
4 Ait impius in superbia mentis: "Non
vindicare; non est Deus": haec est omnis cogitatio
ejus.
5 Prosperae sunt viae ejus omni tempore;
longe distant iudicia tua a mente ejus:
omnes adversarios suos contemnit.
6 Dicit in corde suo: "Non commovebor:
a generatione in generationem non ero
infelix".
7 Maledictione os ejus plenum est et
fraude et dolo,
sub lingua ejus labor et vexatio.
8 Sedet in insidiis prope vicos,
in occultis occidit innocentem;
oculi ejus pauperem speculantur.
9 Insidiatur in latebris sicut leo in spelunca
sua;
insidiatur ut rapiat miserum:
rapiet miserum trahique in rete suum.
10 Incurvatur, prosternit se humi,
et violentia ejus pauperes cadunt.
11 Dicit in corde suo: "Oblitus est Deus,
avertit faciem suam, non videt unquam".
12 Exsurge, Domine Deus, extolle manum
tuam!
noli pauperem oblivisci!
13 Quare spernit impius Deum,
dicit in corde suo: "Non vindicare?"
14 Tu autem vides: tu laborem et maerorū
consideras,
ut ponas ea in manibus tuis.
Tibi se pauper committit,
orphano tu es adiutor!
15 Contere brachium peccatoris et maligni:
vindicare malitiam ejus, nec subsistet.
16 Dominus rex est in saeculum saeculi,
perierunt gentes de terra ejus.
17 Desiderium miserorum audisti, Domine,
confirmasti cor eorum, aurem praeceperisti,
18 Ut jus tuearis orphanis et oppressi,
neque ultra terrorem incutiat homo
terrenus.

Psalm 22 (23)

ON

Der herr ist mein hyrt unnd mir würt nichts
gebrechē / er hat mir an der stat da gūte
wayd ist / ain wonung gemacht. An dem
wasser der rūwe hat er mich auffgezogē /
mein seel hat er herwider bracht. Er ist
mein wegweiser gewesen auff den
füßteygen der gerechtikayt um seines
namens willen. Daß ob ich schon wandel
mitten in dem schatten des tods / würd ich
mich kains übels besorgen / darumb das du
bey mir bist. Dein rūt und dein stecken / die
haben mir trost erzayget. Du hast vor
meinem angesicht ain tisch berayt / gegē
allen denen so mich betrüben. Du hast mein
haubt mit öl fayßt gemacht / und dein
becher 8 truncken leüt macht / ist hoch
berömbt. Und dein barmhertzigkayt würt
mir nachfolgen alle tag meines lebens.
Unnd dabey das ich wone in dem hauß des
herren / nach 8 lenge aller tag ewiglich.

M

Der herr der richt mich und mir gebrast nit:
und an der stat der weyde do satz er mich.
Er fñrtte mich ob dem wasser der
widerbringung: er bekert mein sel. Er fñrt
mich aus auf die steig der gerechtikeit: umb
seinen namen. Wann ob ich ioch gee in
mitz dez schaten dez tods ich vñrcht nit die
ubeln dinge: wann du bist mit mir. Dein
rñte : und dein stab sy selb habent mich
getrñst. Du hast bereyt den tisch in meiner
bescheude: wider die die mich betrñben.
Du hast erveystent mein haubt mit dem öl:
und mein kelch der macht truncken wie
lauter er ist. Und dein erbenmbd die
nachvolgt mir alle die tag meins lebens. Das
auch ich entwele in dem haus des herrn in
die leng der tag.

Luther 1524

1 Der HERR ist meyn hirtte, myr wird
nichts mangeln.
2 Er lesst mich weyden da viel gras steht,
und fñret mich zum wasser das mich
erkñlet.
3 Er erquickt meyne seele, er fñret mich
auff rechter strasse umb seyns namens
willen.
4 Und ob ich schon wandert ym finstern
tal, fñrcht ich keyn ungluck, Denn du bist
bey myr. Deyn stecken und stab trñsten
mich.
5 Du bereytest fur myr einen tisch gegen
meyne feynde, Du machst meyn heubt fett
mit öle und schenkest myr voll eyn.
6 Guets und barmhertzickeyt werden myr
nach lauffen meyn leben lang, und werde
bleyben ym hause des HERRN ymmerdar.

Z

Der herr regieret mich und mir gebrist
nichts. und an der stat der weyde do satz er
mich. Er hat mich gefñret auff dem wasser
der widerbringñg. er bekeret mein sel. Er
fñret mich auß auff die steig der
gerechtigkeit. umb seinen namen wann ob
ich gee in mit des schatten des todes. ich
fñrcht nit die übeln ding wann du bist bey
mir. Dein rñt und dein stab. die selbē haben
mich getrñstet. Du hast bereitet den tisch in
meinem angesiht. wider die. die mich
betrñben. Du hast erueistet mein haubt in
dem öl. unnd mein kelch machet trucken
[sic] wie lauter er ist. Unnd dein erbennd
nachvolget mir. alle tag meins lebens. Das
auch ich einwone in dem hauß des herren
in die lenge der tag.

Luther 1531 and 1545.

1 Der HERR ist mein hirtte, mir wird nichts
mangeln.
2 Er weidet mich auff einer grñnen awen,
und fñret mich zum frischen wasser.
3 Er erquicket meine seele, er fñret mich
auff rechter strasse, umb seines namens
willen.
4 Und ob ich schon wandert im finstern
tal, fñrchte ich kein unglück, Denn du bist
bey mir, Dein stecken und stab trñsten
mich.
5 Du bereitest fur mir einen tisch gegen
meine feinde, Du salbest mein heubt mit
öle, und schenkest mir vol ein.
6 Gutes und barmhertzigkeit werden mir
folgen mein leben lang, und werde bleiben
im hause des HERRN imerdar.

Psalmi iuxta LXX

1 Dominus reget me et nihil mihi deerit
2 in loco pascuae ibi: me conlocavit
super aquam refectionis educavit me
3 animam meam convertit
deduxit me super semitas iustitiae
propter nomen suum
4 nam et si ambulavero in medio umbrae
mortis
non timebo mala quoniam tu mecum es
virga tua et baculus tuus
ipsa me consolata sunt
5 parasti in conspectu meo mensam
adversus eos qui tribulant me
inpinguasti in oleo caput meum
et calix meus inebrians quam praecclarus est
6 et misericordia tua subsequitur me
omnibus diebus vitae meae
et ut inhabitem in domo Domini
in longitudinem dierum

Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum

1 Dominus pascit me nihil mihi deerit
2 in pascuis herbarum adclinavit me
super aquas refectionis enutrivit me
3 animam meam refecit
duxit me per semitas iustitiae propter
nomen suum
4 sed et si ambulavero in valle mortis
non timebo malum quoniam tu mecum es
virga tua et baculus tuus ipsa consolabuntur
me
5 pones coram me mensam ex adverso
hostium meorum
inpinguasti oleo caput meum
calix meus inebrians
6 sed et benignitas et misericordia
subsequetur me omnibus diebus vitae meae
et habitabo in domo Domini in longitudine
dierum

PP

1 Dominus pascit me: nihil mihi deest;
2 in pascuis virentibus cubare me facit.
Ad aquas, ubi quiescam, conducit me;
3 reficit animam meam,
Deducit me per semitas rectas
propter nomen suum.
4 Etsi incedam in valle tenebrosa,
non timebo mala, quia tu mecum es.
Virga tua et baculus tuus:
haec me consolantur.
5 Paras mihi mensam
spectantibus adversariis meis;
Inungis oleo caput meum;
calix meus uberrimus est.
6 Benignitas et gratia me sequuntur
cunctis diebus vitae meae,
Et habitabo in domo Domini
in longissima tempora.

Psaln 150

ON

Lobend got in seynē hailigen / lobend in in der feste seyner macht. Lobend in in seinen krefftē / lobend in nach
 8 grösse seiner maicstat. Lobēd in mit dem gedōn der busaunen / lobend in auff dē psalter uñ der harpfen. Lobend in mit 8 baucken uñ dem gesang viler styñen / lobend in mit dē sayten uñ 8 orgel. Lobend in mit den wol klingendē zymbeln / lobend in mit den zymbeln der frolockung. Ain yegklicher gaist sol den herren loben.

L1524

1 Lobet den HERRN ynn seynem heyligthum, Lobet yhn ynn der feste seyner stercke.
 2 Lobet yhn ynn seyner gewaltt, Lobet yhn nach der menge seyner herlickeyt.
 3 Lobet yhn mit posaunen hall, Lobet yhn mit psalter und harffen.
 4 Lobet yhn mit paucken und reygen, Lobet yhn mit seyten und pfeiffen.
 5 Lobt yhn mit hellen zymbeln, Lobt yhn mit zymbeln ym iauchtzen.
 6 Alles was odem hat, Lobe den HERRN. Ha le lu ia.

Psalmi iuxta LXX

ALLELUIA

1 Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius
 laudate eum in firmamento virtutis eius
 2 laudate eum in virtutibus eius
 laudate eum secundum multitudinem magnitudinis eius
 3 laudate eum in sono tubae
 laudate eum in psalterio et cithara
 4 laudate eum in tympano et choro
 laudate eum in cordis et organo
 5 laudate eum in cymbalis bene sonantibus
 laudate eum in cymbalis iubilationis
 6 omnis spiritus laudet Dominum

M

Lobt den herm in seinen heylgen : lobt in in der vestenkeit seiner krafft. Lobt in in seinen krefftē : lobt in nach der menig seiner michelich. Lobt in in dem don des horns : lobt in in dem gesang und in der herpfen. Lobt in in der baucken und in den seyten : lobt in in den seyten und in der orgeln. Lobet in in den woldōnenden schellen : lobt in in den schellen der frewden : ein ieglich geyst lob den herren.

L1531

1 Lobet den HERRN inn seinem heilighumb, Lobet in inn der feste seiner macht.
 2 Lobet in inn seinen thatten, Lobet in inn seiner grossen herrligkeit.
 3 Lobet in mit posaunen, Lobet in mit Psalter und harffen.
 4 Lobet in mit paucken und reigen, Lobet in mit seitten und pfeiffen.
 5 Lobet in mit hellen cimbeln, Lobet in mit wol klingenden cimbeln.
 6 Alles was odem hat, Lobe den HERREN. Halelu ia.

Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum

ALLELUIA

1 Laudate Deum in sancto eius
 laudate eum in fortitudine potentiae eius
 2 laudate eum in fortitudinibus eius
 laudate eum iuxta multitudinem magnificentiae suae
 3 laudate eum in clangore bucinæ
 laudate eum in psalterio et cithara
 4 laudate eum in tympano et choro
 laudate eum in cordis et organo
 5 laudate eum in cymbalis sonantibus
 laudate eum in cymbalis tinnientibus
 6 omne quod spirat laudet Dominum

ALLELUIA

Z

Lobennt den herren in seinen heiligen. lobent in in dē firmamēt seiner krafft. Lobent in in seinen krefftēnn. lobent in in nach 8 menig seiner grösse. Lobent in in dē don des horns lobent in in dem psalteri und in der harpfenn. Lobent in in der baucken und in dem chor. Lobent in in den seyten und in der orgeln. Lobent in in dē wol klingendenn cimeln. lobent in in den cimeln der iubilierung. ein yegklicher geyst sol loben den herren.

L1545

Differs only in spelling and use of capitals.

PP

ALLELUIA

1 Laudate Dominum in sanctuario ejus,
 laudate eum in augusto firmamento ejus.
 2 Laudate eum propter grandia opera ejus,
 laudate eum propter summam majestatem ejus.
 3 Laudate eum clangore tubae,
 laudate eum psalterio et cithara.
 4 Laudate eum tympano et choro,
 laudate eum chordis et organo.
 5 Laudate eum cymbalis sonoris,
 laudate eum cymbalis crepitantibus:
 omne quod spirat, laudet Dominum!
 Alleluia.

Psalm 36 (37)

ON

M

Z

Nit rayt ander leit zů bösem / un biß denen nit neydyg die tůt thůn. Daß sie werdend bald dürr werden wie das hew / un abfallen wy dy kreutter auff der wayd. Hoff in den herren und ih̃t das gůt ist / behylff dich nůt der wonung auff dem erdreych / un von seiner reichlykayt solstu gespeyst werden. Erlůst dich in dem herren / so wůrt er dir geben deines hertzen begyrden. Offenbar deinen weg gegen dem herren und hoff in ihm / so wůrt er es alles thun. Und wůrt herfürbringen dein gerechtikayt / wie ain liecht / und dein urteil wie den mittag / biß dem herren underthůnig / und rűff in an. Laß dich nit anfechten ob es ainem menschen wol goet in seinem weg / unnd er doch übel thůt. Biß still mit dem zorn / und verlaß den unmt / nit brauch den neyd also das du böß werdest. Dann die bößhaftigen werden gar vergen / aber die verharren auff den herren / werden das erdreich erben. Und es wůrt ain klayne zeit verscheynen das der sůnder nyher sein wirt / du wűrt sein stat suchē / und die nit finden. Aber die senfftůtigen werden dz erdreich erben / und iren wollust haben in der menige des fryden. Der sůnder wűrt dem gerechten nach stellen / und gegen ihn die zůn wetzen. Aber der herr wűrt seyn lachen / darumb das er vorhın sieht wie sein tag kornbt. Die sůnder haben das schwert außgezogen / und iren bogen gespannen. Das sie den armen und elenden treffen / und erwűrgen die gerechten hertzen. Ir schwert soll in ir hertz gen / und ir bog zerdruckt werden. Es ist dem gerechten ain wenig besser / daß vil reichthumb der sůnd. Daß die arm der sůnd werdend zerknűscht / aber die gerechten besterckt der herr. Der herr erkennt die weg der frohen unklagbaren / und ir erbayt wűrt ewiglich beleybt. Sie werden nit zůschanden in der bösen zeit / und in den tagen des hungers werden sie errettet. Aber die feind des herren / gleych mit dem das sie zů uren kűssen und erhűcht werden seynd / haben sie abgetűssen / unnd seynd wie der rauch zergangen. Der reich wűrd gelt entlehen und nit wider geben / aber der gerecht ist mit und gibt auß erbermbd. Dann die den herren lobend / werden das erdreich erben / und dyo im übelreden werdend vergen. Von dem herren werden des menschen flűdrůt rechtfertig gemacht / und seinen weg wűrt er fast begere. So er fallē wűrt / soll er sich nit zerstoosen / daß der herr halt entzogen sein hand / in zů bestercken. Ich bin jůnger gewesen / daß nun bin ich alt / unnd hab nit gesehen ain gerechten verlassen / auch nit das sein sonnen bat brot gesűcht. Den ganzen tag ist der gerecht barmhertzig / und leicht gelt auß / und sein sonnen wűrt in grossem lob stoen. Wend dich ab von dem bösen / und ih̃t gůts / und won also von welt zů welt ewiglich. Daß der herr hat lieb das urtayl / und wűrt nit verlassen seine heyligē / ewiglich werde sie behűt sein. Aber die sůnder sollen durchleht werden / un der sonnen der veracher Gotes soll gar vergen. Die gerechte werden das erdreich erben und von welt zů welt ewiglich darauf woen. Des gerechts mund wűrt sich in weyßheit ueben / und sein zung wűrt das urtail reden. Das gesatz seines gotes ist in seinem hertzen / und seine flűdrůt werden ihn nit außgeschlagen. Der sůnder merckt auff den gerechten / und stűcht wie er in tůdt. Aber der herr verlaßt in nit / das er in des selben hend kűsse / wűrt im auch nichts absprechen / so in jener verdambt. Verbarr auff den herren und behalt seine weg / so wűrd er dich erhűben damit du das erdreich besitzest / du wűrst sehen das die sůnder vergen werden. Ich hab den veracher Gotes gesehen erhűcht un jber sich gehet wie die zederbeim des bergs Libani. Und bin fůrgangen / un nyhm war er was da hın / ich hab in gesucht / un sein stat ist auch nit gefunden worden. Behalt die unschuld / und sihe zů der billikait / daß das beleybt allain dē frydsamen menschen über. Aber die übelthűter werden alle mit einander vergen / und wűrt auch das verhon sein / das den verachtern gotes beleybet. Aber das hail der gerechten ist von dem herren / und er ist ir beschyrmer in der zeit der trűbsal. Und wűrt innen der herr heiffen / darz sie erledigen / erretten vorn den sűndern / und sie erhalten / darů das sie in in gehoft habē.

Nichten wűst nachvolgen in den übelthűnden: noch hab lieb die die do tůnd die ungankait. Wann sy dorreut schnelliglich als das hewe: und vallent schier als die kűl oder bletter der kreuter. Versich dich in got und tů die gűtet: und entwel in dem land und du wűrt gefűrt in deinen reichthumen. Wollűst dich im herren: und er gibt dir die eyschungen deins hertzen. Broffen dem herren deinen weg und versich dich in im: und er selb tůt es. Und er fűrt aus dein gerechtikait als ein liecht: und dein urteyl als den mittag: bis undertenig dem herren und anbet in. Nichtten welst liebhaben an dem menschen so er tůt die ungerechtikait: in dem das er wirt gelűgich in sein weg. Hör auf von dem zorn und laß die tobtait nichten wűst liebhaben das du wűrdest böß. Wann die übelthűnd die werdend verwűst: wann die do enthaben den herren sy selb erbet das land. Und noch ein lűtzel und der sűnder wirt nit: und du suchst sein statt und du findest ir nit. Wann die senften die erbet die erde: und werden gewollűst in der menig des frids. Der sűnder lagt dem gerechten: und grůgramt mit seinen zenden ubir in. Wann der herre verspott in: wann er schawet das sein tag kűment. Die sűnder haben ausgezogen das waffen: sy haben gespannen iren bogen. Das sy betrogen den armen und den gebetűtigen: und das sy quelen die gerechts hertzen. Ir waffen get in ir hertz: und ir bog der wirt zerbrochen. Besser ist ein lűtzel dem gerechten: uber manig reichthum der sűnder. Wann die arm der sűnder werdend zerknűscht: wann der herr verort die gerechten. Der herre erkennt die tag der unfleckhűtigen: und ir erb wirt ewiglich sy werdend nit geschemlich in dem ubeln zeit: und sy werdend gesatz in den tagen des hungers: wann die sűnder verderbernt. Wenn die veinde des herren werdend schier goert und erhűcht: das sy gebetűten und zergend als der rauch. Der sűnder der entlehet und gilt nit: wann der gerecht der erbarnt sich und widergibt. Wann die im gesegnt die erbet das land: wann die im flűchent die verderbernt. Die geng des menschen werdend gerűcht bey dem herren: und er wolt sein wege. So er velt er wird nit versert: wann der herr underlegt sein hand. Wann ich was iunek und eraltet: und ich enasch den gerechten nit gelassē: noch seinen samen stűchent brot. Er erbarnt sich den ganzen tage und leicht: und sein sam wirt im segen. Neyg dich von dem ubeln und tů das gűt: und entwels in den werthen der werit. Wann der herre hat lieb das urteyl: und er lest nit sein heiligen: sy werdend behűt ewiglich. Die ungerechten werden gepelnigt: und der sam der ungtűtigen verdirbt. Wann die gerechten erbet die erde: und entwelen auf ir in den werthen der werit. Der mund des gerechten betrachte die weysheit: und sein zunge redt das urteyl. Die es seines gots ist in sein hertzen: und sein geng die werdend nit gekrenckt. Der sűnder merckt den gerechten: und stűcht in zűtűden. Wann der herr lest in nit in sein hend: noch verdampft in so er in urteylt. Beyt des herren und belait seinen weg und er erhűcht dich das du entpfechst das land mit dem erb so die sűnder verderbernt du gesichert es. Ich sach den unmtlen auferhaben: und erhaben als die cedar des libani. Und ich geng und sechet er was nit: ich stűcht in und sein stat was nit funden. Behűt die unschuldikait und sich die gelychheit: wann die beleybungen seint dem gefridsamen menschen. Wann die ungerechten die verderbernt: die beleybungen der unmtlen zergend mĩsampt. Wann die behaltsam der gerechten ist vom herren: wann er ist ir beschyrmer in dem zeit des durchens. Und der herre hűffet in und erledet sy: und erlediget von den sűndern: und macht sy behaltē wann sy vershen sich in ime.

Du solt nit unwirdigen in den übelthűnden. noch hab lieb die do thűn die bößheit. Wann sie dorren schnelliglich als das hewe. un vallen schier als die bletter der kreuter. Hoffe in got un ih̃t die gűtheit und wone in dem land. und du wűrt geweidet in seinē reichthumē Wollűstige dich in dem herren. und er gibt dir eischungen deines hertzen. Eröffnen dem herren deinen weg und versich dich in im und er selb thűt es. Und er fűrt auß dein ungerechtikait als ein liecht und dein urteil als den mittag. bis undertenig dem herren und anbet in. Nicht solt du unwirdigen in dem der do gelűcksaumet in seinen weg. in dem menschen. der do thűt die ungerechtikait. Hűre auff von dem zorn un laß den grůmmen nicht wűllest unwirdigen das du bößhűffigest. Wann die übelthűnd die werden verwűstet. aber die do enthalten den herren. die werden erbe die erde. Und noch ein wenig zeit un der sűnder wirt nit. und du wűrst stűchen sein stat un findest sie nit Aber die senften erben die erde un werdē gewollűstet in lű menig des frids. Der sűnder wirt vermercken dē gerecht. un grűßrűt mit dē zeuē über in. Aber der herr verspottet in wann er schawet das sein tag kűmē. Die sűnder habē außgezogen das waffen. sie habē gespannen iren bogen. Das sie betrogen den armen und den gebetűtigen. und das sie tűdten die gerechts hertzen. Ir waffen goe in ir hertz. und ir bog werde zerbrochen. besser ist ein wenig dem gerechten über manig reichthum der sűnder. Wann die arm der sűnder werden zerknűscht. abē h̃ herr verort die gerecht. Der herr hat erkennt die tag der unvermallygen. und ir erb wirt ewiglich Sie werden nit geschendet in dem ubeln zeit und sie werden gesatz in den tagen des hungers wann die sűnder werden verderben. Aber die veinde des herren werden schier goeret und erhűcht. das sie gebetűten und zergoen als der rauch. Der sűnder entlehet und gilt nit. aber der gerecht erbarnd sich und widergibt. Wann die im geseggen die erben die erde. aber die im flűchen die werden verderbē. Die geng des menschen werden gerűcht bey dem herren. und er wolt sein weg. So er velt er wirt nit versert. wann der herr underlegt sein hand. Wann ich was iunek und bin eraltet. und han nit verlassen gegeben den gerechten. noch seinen samen stűcht das brot. Er erbarnd sich den ganzen tag un laß leitet. und sein sam wirt in dem segē. Neig dich von dem ubel un ih̃t das gűt. und wone in den welten der welt. Wann der herr hat lieb das urteil. un er verleset nit sein heiligen. sie werden behalten ewiglich. Die ungerechten werden gepelnigt. und der sam der ungtűtigen verdirbt. Aber die gerechten erben die erde. und werden woen auff ir in den welten der welt. Der mund des gerechten betrachte die weisheit. un sein zung redt das urteil. Die es seines gots ist in sein hertzen und geng werden nit undergetreten. Der sűnder merckt den gerechten und stűcht in zűtűden. Aber der herre wűrd in nit lassen in seinen henden. noch verdampft in. so er im wirt geurteilt. Harre des herren und behűte seinen weg. und er erhűcht dich. das du empfechst die erde mit dem erb. so die sűnder verderbernt. du gesichert es. Ich sah den ungtűtigen auferhaben. un erhaben als die cedar des libani. und ich geng. und secht er was nit. ich sucht in. un sein stat was nit funden. Behűt die unschuldikait. und sich die gelychheit. wann sie sein die beleybungen des fridsamen menschen. Aber die ungerechten verderbernt. die beleybungen der ungtűtigen zergend mĩsampt. Aber das heil der gerechten ist vom herren. wann er ist ir beschyrmer in der zeit der trűbsal. Und der herre hűffet in und erledet sie und erlediget sie von den sűndern. und macht sie behalten wann sie hoffen in in.

L1521.

1 Ertzurn dich nit ubir den bößen vind,
laß dich nit vordriessen die ubiltheter.
2 Denn wie das graß werden sie eynd abgeschnytten
werden, und wie das grüne kraut werden sie verwelcken.
3 Setz deyn hoffnung ynn gott und thu gutis,
Bleyb ynn land und neere dich ynn glawbenn.
4 Und hab deyn lust ynn gott:
Szo wirt er dir geben deynß herten begird.
5 Befehl dem HERRN deyn wege und hoff auff ym, so wirt erß
woll machen.
6 Und wirt deyne gerechtikeit erfur bringen all das licht
und deyn recht wie den mittag.
7 Halt gote still und laß ym mit dyr machen,
Ertzurn dich nit, das du auch ubil thuist.
8 Stille deynen tzorn und laß deyn grimmen,
Ertzurn dich nit, das du auch ubil thuist.
9 Denn alle, die do ubil thun, werden auß gerottet,
Die aber auff got warten, werden das land besitzen.
10 Es ist noch umb eyn kleynis, so ist der gotloß nymmer,
So wirstu auff sein stet mercken, und sie ist nit mehr da.
11 Aber die sanfftmutigen werden besitzen das land
Und sich erlusten ynn der menge des fridis.
12 Der gotlöbe wuelt widder den gerechten
Und knyrset mit seynen tzeeenen ubir yhn.
13 Aber gott lachet seyn, den er sihet,
das seyn tag kummet.
14 Die gotlöben blossen yhr schwerd umd richten yhn
Bogen, tzu fellen den geringen und armen, tzu schlachten,
die do auff dem rechten wege sind.
15 Yr schwerd wirt ynn yhr hertz gehen,
und yhr bogen wirt zu brochen werden.
16 Es ist besser dem gerechten wenig haben
Denn alle hauffen guter vieler gotlöben.
17 Denn die arm der gotlöben werden zu brochen werden,
Aber gott enthalt die gerechten.
18 Gott erkennet die tage der unschuldigen,
Und yhr erbe wirt ewig seyn.
19 Sie werden nit mit schanden bestehen yn der bößen tzeit,
Und ynn der tewren tzeit werden sie gnug haben.
20 Denn die gotlöben werden untergehen und die feynd
gotis.
Wen sie gleich sind wie eyn kostlich awe, werden sie doch
allwerdenn, ya allwerden wie der rauch.
21 Der gotloß entleibet und tzalet nit,
Der gerecht aber ist barmhertzig und mild.
22 Denn seyne gebenedeyeten werden besitzen das Land,
Und seyne vormaledeyeten werden auß gerot werden.
23 Von gott werden die genge dißes manniß gericht odder
gefoddert, und seynes wegs hat er gefallen.
24 Und ob er fellet, so wirt er nit weckgeworffen,
Denn gott enthalt ym bey der hand.
25 Ich bin jung gewesen und alt worden und hab noch nie
den gerechten gesehen verlassen und seyn kind noch brot
gehen.
26 Alle tag ist er barmhertzick und lehret,
Und seyne kind werden gebenedeyt seyn.
27 Weych von dem, das böß ist, und thu gutis
Und bleyb nur ymer dar.
28 Denn gott hat lieb das recht und vorlesst seyne
heyligen nit, ewiglich werden sie behalten,
Und die kinder der gotlöben werden auß gerottet.
29 Die gerechten werden besitzen das land
Und drauff bleyben ymer und ymer.
30 Der mund des gerechten tichtet weylßheyt,
Und seyn tzung redet das rechte.
31 Das gesetz gotis ist ynn seynem herten,
Und seyne tritt werden nit schliffen.
32 Der gotloß sihet auff den gerechten
Und sucht, wie er yhn tode.
33 Gott aber vorlesst yhn nit ynn seynen hend
Und vordumpt yhn nit, ob er vor urteylet wirt.
34 Warte auff gott und halt seyne wege,
so wirt er dich erheben, zu besitzen das land.
Wenn die gotlöben werden auß gerottet, so wirstu sehen.
35 Ich hab gesehen eynen gotlöben, der war gewilich und
hatt sich rauß gemacht wie eyn grumder lorbaum.
36 Ich gieng fur uber, und sihe tzu, da war er dahynn,
Ich frag nach ym, er wart aber nyrgent funden.
37 Halt dich nur unschuldig und sihe was aufrichtig ist,
Denn das letzt eyß solchen manß ist frid.
38 Die abtrunigen werden vortiget werden, eyner mit dem
andern,
Und das letzte der gotlöben wirt außgerottet.
39 Das heyl der gerechten ist von gott,
Der ist yhr sterck ynn der tzeit ynnß gedrengs.
40 Und gott wirt yhn helfen und wirt sie er reden,
Er wirt sie erreden von den gotlöben
Und wirt sie selig machen: denn sie haben in yhn vortrawet.

1 Ertzurn dich nicht uber dem bösen, Sey nicht neydlich
uber den ubeltheter.
2 Denn wie das gras werden sie bald abgehawen werden,
und wie das grüne kraut werden sie verwelcken.
3 Hoffe auff den HERRN und thu guts, bleybe ynn lande
und neere dich ynn glauben.
4 Hab deyne lust am HERRN, Der wird dyr geben was dein
hertze wunscht.
5 Befehl dem HERRN deyne wege, und hoffe auff ym, er
wirds wol machen.
6 Und wird deyne gerechtikeit erfur bringen wie das
licht, und deyn recht wie den mittag.
7 Halt dem HERRN still und las ym mit dyr machen,
Ertzurn dich nicht uber dem man dem es wol gehet, und
thut nach seynem mutwillen.
8 Siehe ab vom zorn und las den grym, Ertzurn dich nicht,
das du auch ubil thust.
9 Denn die bösen werden aus gerottet, Die aber des
HERRN harren werden das land erben.
10 Es ist noch umb eyn kleyns, so ist der gotlose nymmer, so
wirstu auff seyne stet achten, und er wird nicht da seyn.
11 Aber die elenden werden das land erben, und lust haben
ynn grossen fride.
12 Der gotlose dretet dem gerechten, und beysset seyne
zeene zu samen uber yhn.
13 Aber der HERR lachet seyn, Denn er sihet, das seyn tag
kumpt.
14 Die gotlosen zihen das schwerd aus und spannen ihren
bogen, das sie fellen den elenden und armen, und schlachten
die so aufrichtig gehen ynn wege.
15 Aber yhr schwerd wird ynn yhr hertze geben, und yhr
bogen wird zubrechen.
16 Es ist besser das wenige des gerechten, denn das gros
gut vieler gotlosen.
17 Denn der arm der gotlosen wird zu brechen, aber der
HERR enthalt die gerechten.
18 Der HERR kernet die tage der frumen, und yhr erbe wird
ewiglich bleyben.
19 Sie werden nicht zu schanden ynn der bösen zeyt, und
ynn der theuering werden sie gnug haben.
20 Denn die gotlosen werden umb kornen, und die feynde
des HERRN, wenn sie gleich sind wie eyn köstliche awe,
werden sie doch alle werden, wie der rauch alle wird.
21 Der gotlose borget und bezalet nicht, Der gerecht aber ist
barmhertzig und milde.
22 Denn seyne gesegneten erben das land, aber seyne
verfluchten werden aus gerottet.
23 Von Got werden des mans genge gefoddert, und hat lust
an seynem wege.
24 Fellet er, so wird er nicht weg geworffen, Denn der
HERR erhalt yhn bey seynen hand.
25 Ich bin iung gewesen und alt worden, und hab noch nie
gesehen den gerechten verlassen, oder seynen samen nach
brod gehen.
26 Teglich ist er barmhertzig und loybet, und seyn same
wird gesegnet seyn.
27 Las vom bösen und thu guts, und bleybe ymmerdar.
28 Denn der HERR hat das recht lieb und vorlesst seyne
heyligen nicht, ewiglich werden sie bewaret, aber der
gotlosen samen wird aus gerottet.
29 Die gerechten erben das land, und bleyben ewiglich
drymen.
30 Der mund des gerechten gehet mit weysheyt umb, und
seyne zunge redet vom gericht.
31 Das gesetz seynes Gottes ist ynn seynem herten, Seyne
tritt gleytten nicht.
32 Der gotlose sihet auff den gerechten, und gedenckt yhn
zu töden.
33 Aber der HERR leest yhn nicht ynn seynen henden, und
verdampft yhn nicht, wenn er verurteylet wird.
34 Harre auff den HERRN und beware seynen weg, so wird
er dich erheben das du das land erbest, wenn die gotlosen
aus gerottet werden, wirstu sehen.
35 Ich habe eynen gotlosen mechtig, und eyn gewurtzelt wie
ein grumder lorber baum.
36 Da man fur uber gieng, sihe da war er dahyn, Ich frag
nach ym, da ward er nyrgent funden.
37 Beware die frumkheit und schaw was aufrichtig ist, Denn
zu letzt wird der selbe fride haben.
38 Die ubertreter aber werden vertilget mit eynander, und
die gotlosen werden zu letzt aus gerottet.
39 Das heyl aber der gerechten ist von dem HERRN, Der ist
yhre sterck ynn der zeyt der noth.
40 Und der HERR wird ym beystehen, und wird sie
erretten, und wird sie von den gotlosen erretten und yhn
helfen, Denn sie trawen auff yhn.

L1545

L1545 differs from L1531 in:

v.7 Sey stille dem HERRN, und warte auff in,....

1 Ertzurn dich nicht uber die bösen, Sey nicht neidisch uber
die ubeltheter.
2 Denn wie das gras, werden sie bald abgehawen, Und wie
das grüne kraut werden sie verwelken.
3 Hoffe auff den HERRN und thu guts, Bleibe im lande,
und neere dich redlich.
4 Hab deine lust am HERRN, Der wird dir geben was dein
hertze wunschet.
5 Befehl dem HERRN deine wege, Und hoffe auff in, er
wirds wol machen.
6 Und wird deine gerechtikeit erfur bringen wie das licht,
Und dein recht wie den mittag.
7 Harro des HERRN und warte auff in, Ertzurn dich nicht
uber den, dem sein mutwille glücklich fort gehet.
8 Siehe ab vom zorn, und las den grim, Ertzurn dich nicht,
das du auch ubel thust.
9 Denn die bösen werden ausgerottet, Die aber des HERRN
harren, werden das land erben.
10 Es ist noch umb ein kleins, so ist der Gottlose nimer,
Und wenn du nach seiner stet sehen wirst, wird er weg sein.
11 Aber die elenden werden das land erben, Und lust haben
inn grossen fride.
12 Der Gotlose dretet dem gerechten, Und beisset seine
zeene zusammen uber in.
13 Aber der HERR lachet sein, Denn er sihet, das sein tag
kumpt.
14 Die Gottlosen zihen das schwerd aus und spannen iren
bogen, Das sie fellen den elenden und armen, und schlachten
die frumen.
15 Aber ir schwerd wird inn ir hertze gehen, Und ir bogen
wird zubrechen.
16 Das wenig das ein gerechter hat, ist besser, Denn das
gros gut vieler Gottlosen.
17 Denn der Gottlosen arm wird zubrechen, Aber der HERR
enthalt die gerechten.
18 Der HERR kernet die tage der frumen, und ir gut wird
ewiglich bleiben.
19 Sie werden nicht zu schanden inn der bösen zeit, Und inn
der theuering werden sie gnug haben.
20 Denn die Gottlosen werden umbkommen, und die feinde
des HERRN wenn sie gleich sind wie eine köstliche awe,
Werden sie doch alle werden, wie der rauch alle wird.
21 Der Gotlose borget und bezalet nicht, Der gerecht aber
ist barmhertzig und milde.
22 Denn seine gesegneten erben das land, Aber seine
verfluchten werden ausgerottet.
23 Von dem HERRN wird solches mans gang gefördert,
Und hat lust an seinem wege.
24 Fellet er, so wird er nicht weg geworffen, Denn der
HERR erhalt in bey der hand.
25 Ich bin iung gewesen und alt worden, Und hab noch nie
gesehen den gerechten verlassen, odder seinen samen nach
brod gehen.
26 Er ist allzeit barmhertzig und liebet gerne, Und sein same
wird gesegnet.
27 Las vom bösen und thu guts, Und bleibe immerdar,
28 Denn der HERR hat das recht lieb, und verlässt seine
Heiligen nicht, Ewiglich werden sie bewaret, aber der
Gottlosen samen wird ausgerottet.
29 Die gerechten erben das land, Und bleiben ewiglich
drinnen.
30 Der mund des gerechten redet die weisheit, Und seine
zunge leret das recht.
31 Das gesetz seines Gottes ist inn seinem herten, Seins
tritt gleiten nicht.
32 Der Gottlose lauret auff den gerechten, Und gedenkt in zu
töden.
33 Aber der HERR leest in nicht inn seinen henden, Und
verdampft in nicht, wenn er verurteilt wird.
34 Harre auff den HERRN und halt seinen weg, so wird er
dich erheben, das du das land erbest, Du wirst sehen, das
die Gottlosen ausgerottet werden.
35 Ich habe gesehen einen Gottlosen, der war trotzig, Und
breitet sich aus und grünet, wie ein lorberbaum.
36 Da man fur uber gieng, sihe, da war er da hin, Ich frag
nach im, da ward er nirgend funden.
37 Bleibe frum, und halt dich recht, Denn solchem wirds zu
letzt wol gehen.
38 Die ubertreter aber werden vertilget mit einander, Und
die Gottlosen werden zu letzt ausgerottet.
39 Aber der HERR hilft den gerechten, Der ist ire stercke
inn der not.
40 Und der HERR wird in beistehen, und wird sie erretten,
Er wird sie von den Gottlosen erretten und in helfen, Denn
sie trawen auff in.

Luther explains "stille" as "Harre und tobe nicht".

v.20werden sie doch vergehen, wie der Rauch vergehet.

Psalmi iuxta LXX

1 Noli seculari in malignanibus
neque zelaveris facientes iniquitatem
2 quoniam tanquam fenum velociter arescent
et quemadmodum holera herbarum cito decident
3 spera in Domino et fac bonitatem
et inhabita terram et pascaris in divitiis eius
4 delectare in Domino et dabit tibi petitiones cordis tui
5 revela Domino viam tuam
et spera in eum et ipse faciet
6 et educet quasi lumen iustitiam tuam
et iudicium tuum tanquam meridiem
7 subditus esto Domino et ora eum
noli seculari in eo qui prosperatur in via sua
in homine faciente iniustitias
8 desine ab ira et derelinque furorem
noli seculari ut maligneris
9 quoniam qui malignatur exterminabuntur
sustinentes autem Dominum ipsi hereditabunt terram
10 et adhuc pusillum et non erit peccator
et queres locum eius et non invenies
11 mansueti autem hereditabunt terram
et delectabuntur in multitudine pacis
12 observabit peccator iustum
et stridebit super eum dentibus suis
13 Dominus autem iridebit eum
quia prospicit quoniam venit dies eius
14 gladium evaginaverunt peccatores
intenderunt arcum suum
ut decipiant pauperem et inopem
ut trucident rectos corde
15 gladius eorum intret in corde ipsorum
et arcus ipsorum confringantur
16 melius est modicum iusto super divitias peccatorum
multas
17 quoniam brachia peccatorum conterentur
confirmat autem iustus Dominus
18 novit Dominus dies immaculatum
et hereditas eorum in aeternum erit
19 non confundentur in tempore malo
et in diebus famis saturabuntur
20 qui peccatores peribunt
inimici vero Domini mox honorificati fuerint et exaltati
deficientes quemadmodum fumus defecerunt
21 mutabitur peccator et non solvet
iustus autem miseretur et tribuet
22 quia benedictus est hereditabunt terram
maledicentes autem ei disperibunt
23 apud Dominum gressus hominis diriguntur
et viam eius vult
24 cum occiderit non conlidentur
quia Dominus subponit manum suam
25 iunior fui et semi et non vidi iustum derelictum
nec semen eius quaerens panem
26 tota die miseretur et commodat
et semen illius in benedictione erit
27 declina a malo et fac bonam
et inhabita in saeculum saeculi
28 quia Dominus amat iudicium
et non derelinquet sanctos suos
in aeternum conservabuntur
iniusti punientur
et semen impiorum peribit
29 iusti autem hereditabunt terram
et inhabitabunt in saeculum saeculi: super eam
30 os iusti meditabitur sapientiam
et lingua eius loquetur iudicium
31 lex Dei eius in corde ipsius
et non subplantabuntur gressus eius
32 considerat peccator iustum
et quaerit mortificare eum
33 Dominus autem non derelinquet eum in manus eius
nec damnabit eum cum iudicabitur illi
34 expecta Dominum et custodi viam eius
et exaltabit te ut hereditas capias terram
cum perierint peccatores videbis
35 vidi impium superexaltatum
et elevatum sicut cedros Libani
36 et transivi et ecce non erat
et quaesivi eum et non est inventus locus eius
37 custodi innocentiam et vide aequitatem
quoniam sunt reliquiae homini pacifico
38 iniusti autem disperibunt simul
reliquiae impiorum peribunt
39 salus autem iustorum a Domino
et protector eorum in tempore tribulationis
40 et adjuvabit eos Dominus et liberabit eos
et eruet eos a peccatoribus
et salvabit eos quia speraverunt in eo

Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum

ALEPH Noli contendere cum malignis neque aemuleris
facientes iniquitatem
2 quoniam sicut herba velociter conterentur
et sicut holus viride arescent
3 BRTH spera in Domino et fac bonum
peregrinare in terra et pascere fide
4 et delectare in Domino
et dabit tibi petitiones cordis tui
5 GIMEL volve super Dominum viam tuam
et confide in eo et ipse faciet
6 et educet sicut lumen iustitiam tuam
et iudicium tuum sicut meridiem
7 DBLETH tace Domino et expecta eum
noli contendere adversum eum qui proficit in via sua
adversum virum qui facit quae cogitat
8 HE dimitte iram et relinque furorem
noli contendere ut malefacias
9 quoniam qui malefaciunt interibunt
expectantes autem Dominum ipsi hereditabunt terram
10 VAV adhuc enim modicum et non erit impius
et cogitabis de loco eius et non subsistet
11 mites autem hereditabunt terram
et delectabuntur in multitudine pacis
12 ZAI cogitat impius de iusto
et frendet adversum eum dentibus suis
13 Dominus deridebit eum videns quod venit dies eius
14 HETH gladium evaginaverunt impii
intenderunt arcum suum
ut percutiant egenum et pauperem
et interficiant rectos in via
15 gladius eorum ingreditur in cor eorum
et arcus eorum confringantur
16 TETH melius est parum iusto quam divitiae impiorum
multae
17 quia brachia impiorum confringentur
sublevat autem iustus Dominus
18 IOTH novit Dominus diem immaculatum
et hereditas eorum aeterna erit
19 non confundentur in tempore malo
et in diebus famis saturabuntur
20 CAPH quia impii peribunt et inimici Domini gloriantes
ut monoceros
consumuntur sicut fumus consumitur
21 LAMETH fenus accipit impius et non reddit
iustus autem donat et tribuit
22 quia qui benedixit fuerint ab eo hereditabunt terram
et qui maledixit interibunt
23 MEM a Domino gressus viri firmantur et viam eius vult
24 cum occiderit non adlidentur
quia Dominus sustentat manum eius
25 NUN puer fui siquidem seni
et non vidi iustum derelictum
neque semen eius quaerens panem
26 tota die donat et commodat
et semen eius in benedictione
27 SAMECH recede a malo et fac bonum
et habita in sempiterno
28 quia Dominus diligit iudicium
et non derelinquet sanctos suos
AIN in aeternum custoditi sunt
et semen impiorum perit
29 iusti hereditabunt terram
et habitabunt in saeculum super eam
30 PE OS iusti meditabitur sapientiam
et lingua eius loquetur iudicium
31 lex Dei eius in corde eius non deficient gressus eius
32 SADE considerat impius iustum
et quaerit ut occidat eum
33 Dominus non derelinquet eum in manu eius
et non condemnabit eum cum iudicatur
34 COPH expecta Dominum et custodi viam eius
et exaltabit te ut possideas terram
cum interibunt impii videbis
35 RES vidi impium robustum et fortissimum sicut
indigenam virentem
36 et transivi et ecce non erat
et quaesivi eum et non est inventus
37 SEN custodi simplicitatem et vide rectum
quia erit ad extremum viro pax
38 iniqui autem delebuntur pariter
et novissimum impiorum peribit
39 THAV salus iustorum a Domino
fortitudo eorum in tempore tribulationis
40 et auxiliabitur eis Dominus
et salvabit eos ab impiis quia speraverunt in eo

PP

1 Noli excandescere propter male agentes,
neque invideri facientibus iniquitatem;
2 Nam sicut fenum velociter decident
et sicut herba viridis marcescent.
3 Spera in Domino, et fac bonum,
ut habites terram et fruaris securitate.
4 Delectare in Domino,
et dabit tibi quod petit cor tuum.
5 Committe Domino viam tuam,
et spera in eo, et ipse aget.
6 Et erit sicut lumen iustitiam tuam,
et ius tuum sicut meridiem.
7 Acquiesce in Domino,
et spera in eo.
Noli excandescere de eo qui prospere procedit in via sua,
propter hominem machinantem mala.
8 Desiste ab ira et depono furorem;
noli excandescere, ne mala agas.
9 Etenim male agentes destruentur;
Sed qui sperant in Domino, possidebunt terram.
10 Et modicum, et non erit impius;
et si stendes ad locum eius, jam non erit.
11 Sed mansueti possidebunt terram,
et delectabuntur multitudine pacis.
12 Mala molitur impius iusto
et frendit contra eum dentibus suis.
13 Dominus iridet illi,
quia videt diem ejus venturum.
14 Gladium evaginans impius et tendunt arcum suum,
ut prosternant miserum et pauperem,
ut trucidet eos qui recta via incedunt.
15 Gladius eorum penetrabit in corda ipsorum,
et arcus eorum confringentur.
16 Melius est modicum, quod habet iustus,
quam opulencia impiorum magna;
17 Nam brachia impiorum confringentur,
iustos autem sustentat Dominus.
18 Dominus curat de vita proborum,
et hereditas eorum in aeternum erit.
19 Non confundentur tempore calamitatis,
et diebus famis saturabuntur.
20 Impii vero peribunt,
et inimici Domini ut de cor pratorum marcescent,
quemadmodum fumus evanescent.
21 Mutatur impius et non reddit,
iustus autem miseretur et donat.
22 Nam, quibus benedixerit, possidebunt terram,
et quibus maledixerit, destruentur.
23 A Domino gressus hominis firmantur,
et viam ejus acceptam habet.
24 Et si occiderit, non prosternitur,
quia Dominus sustinet manum ejus.
25 Puer fui, et jam sum senex,
et non vidi iustum derelictum,
nec semen ejus mendicans panem.
26 Omni tempore miseretur et commodat;
et semini illius benedictio erit.
27 Recede a malo, et fac bonum,
ut mancas in sempiternum.
28 Nam Dominus diligit iustitiam,
et non derelinquit sanctos suos;
Improbi destruentur,
et semen impiorum excindetur.
29 Iusti possidebunt terram,
et habitabunt in sempiternum super eam.
30 Os iusti eloquitur sapientiam,
et lingua ejus effatur rectum.
31 Lex Dei ejus in corde ipsius,
et non vacillant gressus ejus.
32 Observat impius iustum,
et studet occidere eum.
33 Dominus non derelinquet eum in manu illius,
nec condemnabit eum, cum iudicabitur.
34 Confide in Domino,
et viam ejus observa;
Et propheta te, ut possideas terram;
excidium impiorum laetus videbis.
35 Vidi impium superbientem
et sese expandentem ut cedrum frondosum.
36 Et praeterit, et ecce non erat;
et quaesivi eum, et non est inventus.
37 Observa probum et considera iustum:
nam posteritas est viro pacifico.
38 Peccatores autem extirpabuntur omnes,
posteritas impiorum excindetur.
39 Salus iustorum a Domino est;
refugium eorum est tempore tribulationis.
40 Et adjuvat eos Dominus et liberat eos;
liberat eos ab impiis, et servat eos,
quia confugiunt ad eum.

ON

O Herr du bist uns wordē ain zůflucht von geschlecht zů geschlecht ewigklich. Ee dann die berg warden / oder das erdtreych erschaffen was uñ der erden umbkrayß / bist du von welt zů welt in ewigkayt. Nit wend den menschen zů der emidrung / die weyl du geredt hast. Bekerend euch ir sun der menschen. Dañ tausent iar seind in deinem angesicht o herr / wie der gesterig tag der vergangen ist / und die wacht in der nacht. Ire iar werden gar mit ainander zů nichten bracht. Am morgen frů soll er fůrgē wie ain grāñle / uñ in der frůe grůnen uñ vergeen / am abent abfallen hert werden und erdorren. Dañ wir seind in deinem zom krafftloß wordē uñ in deinem unwillen entristet. Du hast unser sünd fůr deine augen gestelt / alle zeyt unsers lebens / fůr dz liecht deines angesichts. Dañ all unser tag habend abgenomēn / uñ von deinem zom seind wir schwach worden. Unsere iar arbayteten sich wie ain spin / und die tag unserer iar / seind bey krefftē noch sibentzig iar. Aber achtzig iar / unnd was damach kombt / ist můselig und gebrechlich. Dañ zů der selben zeyt ist über uns kornē der abgang und nachlassung / und dañ werden wir gestrafft. Wer kan die macht deyne zoms / und vor grosser forcht / deinen unwillen erzelen. Deyn gerechte mach mir bekant / wie denen so underwisen seind von der weyßhayt in irem hertzen.

Psalmi iuxta LXX

1 Domine refugium tu factus es nobis
in generatione et generatione
2 priusquam montes fierent et formaretur
terra et orbis
a saeculo usque in saeculum tu es Deus
3 ne avertas hominem in humilitatem
et dixisti convertimini filii hominum
4 quoniam mille anni ante oculos tuos
tamquam dies hesternae quae praeteriit
et custodia in nocte
5 quae pro nihilo habentur eorum anni
erunt
6 mane sicut herba transeat mane floreat
et transeat
vespere decidat induret et arescat
7 quia defecimus in ira tua
et in furore tuo turbati sumus
8 posuisti iniquitates nostras in conspectu
tuo
saeculum nostrum in inluminatione vultus
tui
9 quoniam omnes dies nostri defecerunt
in ira tua defecimus
anni nostri sicut aranea meditabantur
10 dies annorum nostrorum in ipsis
septuaginta anni
si autem in potentatibus octoginta anni
et amplius eorum labor et dolor
quoniam supervenit mansuetudo et
corripimur
11 quis novit potestatem irae tuae
et prae timore tuo iram tuam
12 dinumerare
dexteram tuam sic notam fac
et conpeditos corde in sapientia

Kaspar Ammann (Reinitzer, p. 98.)

O Herr ain wonung bist du uns gewesen in geburt und geburt. Ee dañ die berg wurden geborē uñ beschaffen das erdtreich und der umbkraiß der welt und von ewigkait und ymer ewigklich bist du gott. Du bekerst den menschen biß zů armůt und hast gesagt kerend wid' ir kinder des mēschen. Dañ tausent jar seynd in deinē augen als der gōsterig tag dañ er ist überfam unnd die behūetung der nacht. Du hast sie verstumt sie werdend sein ain schlaff am morgen als das graß verendert wirt. Am morgen wūrt es blůwen und wūrt verendert zů abent wūrdt es abgemāet unnd wūrt dürr. Dann wir seynd schwach worden in deinem zorn und yn deinem grymzorn seynd wir erschrōckt worden. Du hast gesōtz unsere sünd dir zů gōgen unsere verborgne ding zum liecht deines angesichts. Dañ all unsere tåg seynd abkert in deinem zorn wir habē volbracht unsere jar als ain rōd. Dye tag unserer jar in inen seynd sibentzig jar uñ ob in stōrckung seynd achtzig jar uñ ir hochffart arbayt uñ unrecht so ist es schnell vergangen unnd seynd wir verflōgen. Wer waißt die stōrcki deins zorns und dein grymzorn als dein forcht. Thů uns also zůwissen zů erzōlen unsere tag so wellen wir bringen ain hertz der weißhait.

Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum

1 Domine habitaculum tu factus es nobis
in generatione et generatione
2 antequam montes nascerentur et
parturiretur terra et orbis
a saeculo et usque in saeculum tu es
3 convertes hominem usque ad
contritionem
et dices revertimini filii Adam
4 quia mille anni in oculis tuis
sicut dies hesternae quae pertransiit et
vigilia nocturna
5 percutiente te eos somnium erunt
6 mane quasi herba pertransiens mane
floruit et abiit
ad vespem conteretur atque siccabitur
7 consumpti enim sumus in furore tuo
et in indignatione tua conturbati sumus
8 posuisti iniquitates nostras coram te
neglegentias nostras in luce vultus tui
9 omnes enim dies nostri transierunt in
furore tuo
consumpsimus annos nostros quasi
sermonem loquens
10 dies annorum nostrorum in ipsis
septuaginta anni
si autem multum octoginta anni
et quod amplius est labor et dolor
quoniam transivimus cito et avolvimus
11 quis novit fortitudinem irae tuae
et secundum timorem tuum indignationem
tuam
12 ut numerentur dies nostri sic ostende et
veniemus corde sapienti

PP

1 Domine, tu fuisti refugium nobis
a generatione in generationem.
2 Priusquam montes gignerentur et
nasceretur terra et orbis,
et ab aeterno in aeternum tu es, Deus.
3 Reverti jubes mortales in pulverem,
et dicis: "Revertimini, filii hominum".
4 Nam mille anni in oculis tuis
tamquam dies hesternus sunt qui transivit,
et tamquam vigilia nocturna.
5 Abripis eos: fiunt ut somnium
matutinum,
ut herba virescens;
6 Mane floret et viret,
vespere succiditur et arescit.
7 Vere consumpti sumus ira tua,
et indignatione tua conturbati.
8 Posuisti culpas nostras in conspectu
tuo,
peccata nostra occulta in lumine vultus tui.
9 Nam omnes dies nostri transierunt in
ira tua;
finivimus annos nostros ut suspirium.
10 Summa annorum nostrorum sunt
septuaginta anni
et, si validi sumus, octoginta;
Et plerique eorum sunt labor et vanitas:
nam cito transeunt, et nos avolamus.
11 Quis pendit potentiam irae tuae,
et pro debito tibi timore indignationem
tuam?
12 Dinumerare nos doce dies nostros,
ut perveniamus ad sapientiam cordis.

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[Ottmar Nachtigall]

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